

167108

JPRS-WER-87-015

2 MARCH 1987

# West Europe Report

19980701 164

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A

Approved for public release;  
Distribution Unlimited

**FBIS**

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 1

REPRODUCED BY  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE  
NATIONAL TECHNICAL  
INFORMATION SERVICE  
SPRINGFIELD, VA 22161

6  
129  
A07

#### NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

#### PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

2 MARCH 1987

## WEST EUROPE REPORT

### CONTENTS

#### POLITICAL

##### AUSTRIA

Closer Political, Economic Cooperation With EC Planned (Andreas Unterberger; DIE PRESSE, 27, 28 Dec 86) .....	1
Analysis of Origin of New Voters for Freedom Party (Ernst Schmiederer; PROFIL, 1 Dec 86) .....	3

##### FINLAND

Poll Finds Most Support Following UN Line on South Africa (HELSINGIN SANOMAT, 19 Dec 86) .....	7
Reactions to Koivisto's Submarine Identification Comments (Timo Vuorela; HELSINGIN SANOMAT, various dates) .....	8
Says Soviets Not Violators	8
Swedish Foreign Ministry Silent	10
Comment Irritates Swedish Newspaper	12
Vayrynen Popularity Drops as Elections Approach (HELSINGIN SANOMAT, 28 Dec 86) .....	14
Sorsa: SDP, SKDL, Conservative Collaboration Possible (TIEDONANTAJA, 28 Oct 86) .....	16
Paper Comments on Court Decision on CP Split (Editorial; HELSINGIN SANOMAT, 27 Dec 86) .....	18
Communists in No Hurry To Select Presidential Candidate (HELSINGIN SANOMAT, 25 Nov 86) .....	19

Election Outcome Seen Determined by Large Swing Voter Group (HELSINGIN SANOMAT, various dates) .....	21
'Puritanical' Social Concerns Discussed, Unto Hamalainen	21
Party Platforms Outlined	24
Democratic Alternative Stresses Soviet Tie	27
Greens Reject Stalinists' Bid	28
Greens Establish National Organization	28
Rural Party Attacks Poverty	29
FRANCE	
Veil on Partisan Politics, European Policies (Simone Veil Interview; L'EVENEMENT DU JEUDI, 6-12 Nov 86)	32
NORWAY	
Presthus Less Popular Than Earlier Conservative Chiefs (AFTENPOSTEN, various dates) .....	37
Third Favored Party Chairman, by Bjorn Talen	37
Party Faces Leadership Problems, by Lars Hellberg	39
Conservative Party Committee Sees Need to Sharpen Profile (Thorleif Andreassen; AFTENPOSTEN, 7 Jan 87) .....	42
Labor Party Youth Group Surpasses Conservatives' in Membership (Einar Solvoll; AFTENPOSTEN, 31 Dec 86) .....	44
TURKEY	
Border Problems With Syria Persist (MILLIYET, 10 Nov 86) .....	45
Syria Claims Turkish Provinces	45
Neighboring Syrian Governors Visit	46
Kirkuk as Catalyst in Middle East Configuration (TERCUMAN, 10 Nov 86) .....	48
Impact of Speculative Kirkuk Fall, by Yilmaz Oztuna	48
Middle East's World Role	49
Disarray in SDPP Attributed To Dispersal of Chairman's Power (Ismail Cem Interview; CUMHURIYET, 5 Nov 86) .....	52
Results of SDPP Miniconvention (HURRIYET, 10 Nov 86) .....	61
Nine Major Points	61
Impact on Domestic Politics, by Ertugrul Ozkok	65

## SOCIAL

### TURKEY

Religious Changes Said Destroying State's Secular Foundation (Husnu A. Goksel; CUMHURIYET, 10 Nov 86) .....	67
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

## ECONOMIC

### FINLAND

Agreement Reached on Increased Soviet Imports (HELSINGIN SANOMAT, 1 Nov 86) .....	73
Industries Urged To Increase R&D Investments (Editorial; HELSINGIN SANOMAT, 29 Oct 86) .....	77

### SPAIN

Development of Inflationary Trend Analyzed (MERCADO, 26 Dec 86) .....	79
--------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

## MILITARY

### FINLAND

Reactions to Koivisto Nordic Sea Speech (HELSINGIN SANOMAT, various dates) .....	81
Komissarov on Finnish Initiatives, by Yuriy Komissarov Daily Comments on Komissarov Article, Editorial	81 84
Relief in Unthreatened Nordic Countries Maintained (HELSINGIN SANOMAT, 25 Nov 86) .....	86
Additional Details on Nokia, Valmet Arms Making Merger (HELSINGIN SANOMAT, 27 Dec 86) .....	88
Women's Role in Armed Forces Viewed in Light of Proposal (HELSINGIN SANOMAT, 21 Dec 86) .....	89

### SPAIN

Details of Ministry of Defense Reorganization Given (Carlos Yarnoz; EL PAIS, 4 Jan 87) .....	93
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

### SWEDEN

Hunt for Foreign Minisub Came 'Extremely Close' to Success (Various sources, various dates) .....	95
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

Summer Incident Played Down, by Sune Olofson	95
Helicopters Boost ASW Capability, by Anders Ohman	98
Paper: Entire Population's Concern, Editorial	99
Naval Staff Officer Comments on ASW Doctrine, Tactics (Goran Frisk; VART FORSVAR, No 8, 1986) .....	102
Missile 15 Entering Service With Coastal Defense, Ships (MARIN NYTT, No 6, 1986) .....	107
Development Work on Missile 17 Under Completion (MARIN NYTT, No 6, 1986) .....	108
Armed Forces To Get Frequency-Hopping Ericsson Radio (Bo Ostlund; SVENSKA DAGBLADET, 19 Dec 86) .....	112
SWITZERLAND	
Procedures for Mobilizing Civilian Motor Transport Detailed (Denis Borel; REVUE MILITAIRE SWISSE, Nov 86) .....	113
ENERGY	
AUSTRIA	
Energy Cooperation With Soviet Union Discussed (NEUE AZ, 19 Dec 86) .....	117
ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES	
FINLAND	
Protection Commission Notes Baltic Eutrophication, Pollution (HELSINGIN SANOMAT, 15 Oct 86) .....	119
Radioactivity of Lake Paijanne Sedimentation To Be Tested (HELSINGIN SANOMAT, 7 Nov 86) .....	122

/7310

## CLOSER POLITICAL, ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH EC PLANNED

Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 27/28 Dec 86 p 1

[Article by Andreas Unterberger: "New EC Discussion in Austria--Is Vienna's Membership Indispensable?"]

[Text] Vienna--Against the background of coalition negotiations, indications are growing that Austria will be faced with a new discussion about joining the EC, because the present relationships are impractical. Federal Chancellor Vranitzky is calling for Austria to be "more closely involved with the EC" and is lobbying for "quasi-membership." Foreign Minister Jankowitsch also wants to cooperate with the EC politically. And, on the side of what used to be the opposition, People's Party Vice Chairman Busek even advocates applying for membership.

In an interview with DIE PRESSE, Busek provided this justification of why he "would not oppose our applying for membership in the EC": This step would "put the ball in the EC countries' court. Their attention should be called to the responsibilities they have toward the neutrals. I do not consider the problem with the Soviets to be a major one. The USSR, too, should have an interest in seeing an economically viable Austria." Busek adds this interesting remark concerning the small East European countries: "We make a considerable contribution to their budgets."

By saying this, Busek goes beyond the position of his party's chairman, Mock. While the latter has for several years questioned whether Austria's being forced to abide by EC decisions does not impair the country's sovereignty more than would membership in the EC, in which case Austria would have a voice in making EC policy, Mock has so far stopped short of demanding EC membership. For the Freedom Party members, who, while members of the administration, had been in the opposition on this question, Norbert Gugerbauer has once again resumed the demand for EC membership.

Franz Vranitzky has for some time now kept reiterating his interest in a rapprochement with the EC. As of now, he describes his objective as "quasi-membership," which is in basic accord with the official People's Party line. However, newspaper reports to the effect that in a future government the federal chancellor would wish to arrogate full authority for EC matters unto himself, are being denied.

But in any case, Vranitzky is looking for new instruments for economic policy coordination with other countries. The present authority, split among almost all ministries, has for a long time kept Austria from speaking with a single voice. Disgust has been registered by the chancellor's office about a violent argument between two officials from different Austrian ministries at a social policy conference within earshot of other delegations.

However, the attitude of the Swiss constitutes an obstacle to great optimism with regard to the EC. While Foreign Minister Jankowitsch uses the old convoy theory for expressing the desirability of joint action with the other neutrals in approaching the EC, Switzerland decided just a few days ago not to opt for membership.

While some economic experts believe that Switzerland is in any case much more tightly integrated with the EC than is Austria, Vienna has in the political area made some clear approaches during the last few weeks. Measures taken against South Africa and Syria by Vienna clearly reflect those of the Twelve-country Community.

Beyond that, Jankowitsch has clearly registered a desire for political cooperation in talks with EC ministers. However, political cooperation was exactly that area in which, in contrast to the purely economic spectrum, some skeptics see difficulties for Austrian membership.

However, the deciding impetus for Austrian deliberations on membership is probably primarily the realization of the intra-European domestic market. Even if the planned target date of 1992 cannot be met, as realists maintain, even a partial implementation of the domestic market would create enormous problems for all industry and service concerns. The domestic market would mean a much tighter closing of ranks among the Twelve than have all past EC treaties; all participants would be coordinating their legislation, ranging from value-added tax to environmental standards. Without membership, there appears to be no feasible formula which would prevent Austria from being subject to continuing--and then even aggravated--tariff discrimination, which would at the time disappear in all of Western Europe.

Another significant argument in the new Austrian EC discussion deals with some efforts within the EC to require mandatory visas for all foreigners, allegedly for purposes of fighting terrorism.

9273/9190  
CSO: 3620/109



## ANALYSIS OF ORIGIN OF NEW VOTERS FOR FREEDOM PARTY

Vienna PROFIL in German 1 Dec 86 pp 28-31

[Article by Ernst Schmiederer: "Haider's New Voters—Joerg Haider looked for new hunting grounds because the Nationalists have gotten older, and there are fewer of them"]

[Text] At the end of election day, the NEUE A[BEND] Z[EITUNG] proclaimed in its analysis, "The elections have turned everything upside down."

With increasing precision, election analysts are proving that particularly the FPÖe [Austrian Freedom Party] bears little resemblance to what it pretended to be throughout most of the Second Republic.

Instead of the old Nazis, this time it was the young, well-educated voters who cast their ballots for the "Blues." Instead of the unemployed, it was the workers who switched to Joerg Haider's camp. And, contrary to the pundits' expectations, the women did not flock toward handsome Joerg, no matter which state of undress in which he let himself be photographed in WIENERIN, the feminist prayer book. With only a 40 percent share of female voters, the FPÖe has a male-dominant image second only to Catholic priests and CV members.

Even before the elections, the Freedom Party's battle sheet NEUE FREIE ZEITUNG talked about a "triumphal march:" "Enthusiastic Citizens of the Burgenland;" "A Wave of Sympathizers in Tirol, Too;" "Haider Easily Conquered the Moedling Brewery Auditorium Which Was Filled With Eager People of All Age Groups."

The election victory was then termed "historic," "a landslide," "a once-in-a-century event for freedom" by KAERNTNER NACHRICHTEN. The not-quite 5 percent of FDP votes of 1983 had turned into 9.73 percent Sunday before last. 472,180 voters brought 18 delegates into parliament.

Right off the bat, Joerg Haider succeeded in carrying out the blood transfusion which Norbert Steger had attempted.

The ÖVP's [Austrian People's Party] election analyst Fritz Plasser now states that "the thing that happened here with undeniable thrust is the drifting away of first-time and young voters. This is an alarming trend

for the major parties, because these are the voters who within the foreseeable future will constitute a majority."

The Fessel Institute, under contract to the OeVP, identified the pro-Haider people in an exit poll of 2,150 voters throughout Austria. While the SPOe [Austrian Socialist Party] and OeVP managed to recruit only one out of five of their voters from the under-30 age group, Joerg Haider can boast one-third of his votes as coming from among the young.

On the other hand, those above 60 (in other words, those born prior to 1926) are evenly distributed among the two major parties: 27 percent of SPOe voters and 28 percent of OeVP voters belong to this age group. Haider's share of the group of "old voters" was 22 percent.

Haider's pronouncements ("Register for the big parties, but don't vote for them!") have had an impact with those who voted for his smaller competitors as well. Freda Meissner-Blau, called "the poor thing" by Haider, managed to get a mere 12 percent of first-time voters to vote for her. Fourteen percent voted for "the new type of politician." It was a similar story with the under-30 group: Out of 100 young voters, 11 went for Freda, 12 for Joerg.

Bernd Marin, professor of international politics and social research, has double proof for the fact that the protest potential available to Haider and Meissner-Blau goes far beyond youthful voters. His serendipitous spot check test, which does not have much statistical validity, involves four taxi drivers who drove him all over Vienna during the days preceding the elections. "All four told me that they would vote for Haider. But three of them added that they had previously voted for the Greens."

His statistically valid proof derives from an October poll of the "Social Sciences Study Group."

"Would you personally consider voting for the FPÖe under its new party chairman Joerg Haider, or for a Green-Alternative Party headed by Freda Meissner-Blau?" The response: At the time, a 15-percent vote for Haider was conceivable, and 22 percent for Meissner-Blau. Good news for Freda.

During the election, this situation turned around. While Haider, with his near 10 percent of the vote, skimmed about two-thirds of the potential available to him, the lady had to be satisfied with the checkmarks of less than 25 percent of her voter potential.

"About one-sixth of each candidate's adherents," Marin believes, "were accessible to the other candidate." Haider reached some of them. As to Meissner-Blau, the election results of 4.82 percent indicate that she latched on to very few voters in that group.

The fact that Haider was primarily a rallying point for the young people was demonstrated in a median voters' analysis made at the end of election

day by the DeIBF [Austrian Institute for Occupational Training Research] [Footnote] [Using the results available at the end of election day, the OeIBF calculated each party's gains or losses by community type, using the 1983 National Council elections as a basis for comparison.] While in communities with an "above average share of young voters" (more than a 15 percent share) Haider had a vote gain of 4.24 percent, the "old parties" showed a loss of almost 3 percent there.

The FPÖ's triumph was even greater in communities with an "above-average share of middle-aged voters" ("more than 45 percent of the voters are aged 30 to 50 years"): Haider grabbed 4.96 percent out of this larger group, while Mock lost 4.99 percent.

The over-60 public has remained faithful to the "old parties." In that type of community, ÖVP and SPÖ losses remained far below the average for the entire country. The same was true for Haider's gains.

According to the Fessel Institute, the percentage of retired people is 28 for the SPÖ, 25 for the ÖVP and 19 for Haider's FPÖ.

In the election campaign, Haider duly acknowledged "the men of World Wars I and II, who gave their lives for the sake of the future of the homeland;" he also expressed his "thanks" to a "generation which is constantly being maligned." However, without offending them, he recognized the fact that on the basis of age, this generation can no longer form the core of his firm supporters. According to OeIBF, 88.9 percent of those voting for the candidacy of Otto Scrinzi for federal chancellor have now voted for Haider.

ÖVP researcher Plasser believes that "the FPÖ surely made the biggest gains in rural tourist areas and in urban service centers." The OeIBF has more specific data: In the big cities (communities with more than 50,000 inhabitants, excluding Vienna) the "Blues" gained an average of 6.76 percent. In those same communities (such as the provincial capitals) the SPÖ lost 7.48 percent of its voters from 1983. In communities of 10,000 to 50,000, Haider still had an above-average gain of 5.7 percent. In the smallest communities, he came closest to the FPÖ trend for Austria as a whole: 4.9 percent.

What is even more remarkable is the fact that the "Blues" managed to make relatively deep inroads in the citadels of the two big parties: They gained 3.29 percent in cities which had had a greater than 60-percent share of SPÖ votes in 1983; In those locations where the ÖVP had predominated by at least 70 percent in 1983, Haider's people gained an average of 3.79 percent.

Overall, says Plasser, the ÖVP gave up 7 percent to Haider ("from among such groups as young employed people"). The SPÖ managed to keep its loss to the FPÖ to just 6 percent ("the younger blue-collar workers").

In Styria, according to one SPÖ researcher, about 40 percent of those who voted for Haider had voted for the SPÖ in 1983. Likewise, 33 percent of Salzburg's Haider voters had in 1983 voted for the ÖVP.

Plasser believes that "the vote switchers had primarily been impressed with Joerg Haider's personality." About two-thirds of vote switchers had gone over to him, he says, "to put a breath of fresh air into the parliament;" one of every two Haider voters "did this so as to give the two major parties something to think about."

Peter Ulram of the Fessel Institute says that in Carinthia, this has resulted in "the OeVP and the FPÖ operating in the same category there, as intermediate-size parties." The 36,000 FPÖ votes of 1983 have turned into 75,000 Carinthian Haider votes. In Klagenfurt, Haider even showed an increase of 11.5 percent--from 5,000 FPÖ voter to more than 12,000.

In other areas, too, Haider has accomplished things which had seemed impossible for that party since the times of the VdU. He cleaned up among the workers just as the VdU had done in the Workers' Council elections in the 1950's in such strongholds as Linz, Kaprun, or the aluminum town of Lend in Salzburg province. Out of 100 Haider voters Sunday before last, 22 were blue-collar. The SPÖ barely squeezed out 30 of 100.

And the total count of 472,180 votes is almost as large as that of the WdU in the 1949 National Council elections. Only VdU presidential candidate Burghard Breitner was able to amass more votes during the first round of voting in 1951: 660,000.

Says Bernd Marin: "There is an increasingly large potential of voters who could be accessible to several parties." Party and group ties have never been as weak in Austria as they are today. And voter turnout--though at more than 90 percent is still relatively high for Western Europe--is declining steadily. According to Marin, "Haider was able to articulate the people's discontent in the most aggressive fashion, so they stuck with him."

If, in Marin's words, he invoked during the election campaign such "fascistoid symbols as the 'complex of parasites,' it is fair to say that fascist movements are not the only ones to do so. Nevertheless, there are a lot of similarities."

Innsbruck political scientist Anton Pelinka also believes after this election that "Haider surely is not a nephew of Hitler's. More like a young Le Pen."

And the latter had quickly addressed to "Monsieur Jorge Haider" "sincere best wishes" on his "brilliant election success" in the name of his "National Front" and its parliamentary and European Parliament delegates.

"These elections took place in the image of a speedboat bearing discontent and vague protest." Bernd Marin says that Freda Meissner-Blau was meant to be its captain--but someone else got the job: Haider.

And in addition, Haider, in what the KAERNTNER NACHRICHTEN calls his "promising transition" from "blue" deckhand to ship's captain, managed to accomplish something else. In Marin's words: "Among those fishing in the waters of the undecided and disadvantaged, Haider was the best fisherman."

## POLL FINDS MOST SUPPORT FOLLOWING UN LINE ON SOUTH AFRICA

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 19 Dec 86 p 3

[Text] About three in five Finns (58%) want Finland's policies toward South Africa to be based on United Nations recommendations. The UN policy is the most popular choice among all age groups. 21% of Finns favor tighter sanctions than the UN recommends.

These are the results of a Gallup of Finland poll commissioned by Helsingin Sanomat, taken November 15-30, in which 1507 Finns of voting age were interviewed regarding, among other things, what their reaction is to South Africa sanctions and the possibilities of refugees and other foreigners for migrating to Finland.

Although the majority of Finns are satisfied with Finland's policies in all three areas there are also those who want stricter sanctions than the UN's. By party affiliation tighter sanctions have the most support among Communist Party supporters (45%). The Greens are in second place (42%).

Among supporters of the other parties the numbers are much smaller.

According to the study the strictest policy toward South Africa is advocated by an under 25 resident of Helsinki who has at least a secondary education or is a member of the labor force and supports either the Communists or Greens.

Young residents of Greater Helsinki also have the most lenient attitude toward the immigration of refugees and other foreigners - even though there were proportionately most opponents for immigration by all foreigners among those who support the Communist Party (25 - 28%).

## Support for sanctions exceeding UN recommendations

Party:	% of party backers:
Social Democrats	22
Center Party	13
Conservatives	16
Communist Party	45
Swedish Party	17
Greens	42

13002/12851

CSO: 3617/38

## REACTIONS TO KOIVISTO'S SUBMARINE IDENTIFICATION COMMENTS

## Says Soviets Not Violators

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 22 Oct 86 p 10

[Article by Timo Vuorela]

[Text] Stockholm--During an interview with Stockholm's DAGENS NYHETER President Mauno Koivisto said that the Soviet Union had assured the Finns that Soviet U-boats are not responsible for the violations of Sweden's territorial waters. The Swedes are usually of a different opinion on the matter, although often covertly.

During the same interview the president once again roundly criticized the image of Finland created by the Western press. The false impression is in large part due to the Swedish newspapers and the Finnish journalists who write for them are partially to blame, Koivisto said.

DAGENS NYHETER's political editorial staff chief Sven Svensson interviewed the president on the boat trip from Helsinki to Stockholm on Sunday evening. Alleged U-boats, Chernobyl, the press, refugees and immigrants, preparations in Northern European waters and CSCE results and followups were discussed in the story.

## Aroused Attention

There was nothing particularly new in the interview, but as a statement by the president of Finland it aroused deserved attention. Diplomatic and military sources in Stockholm described it as being mostly repetitions of familiar subjects.

The Finnish Foreign ministry did not want to comment on the Koivisto interview on Tuesday.

## Bildt Was Not Surprised

Member of Parliament Carl Bildt, the security policy expert of the moderate Conservative Party and the entire opposition, said that Koivisto's statements about his talks with the Soviets do not surprise him.

Bildt assured us that he knew beforehand what the Soviet Union had explained to the president. However, Bildt felt that the DAGENS NYHETER interview headline for the frontpage was "terrible": "Violators of territorial waters are not Soviets," the headline claimed.

The nonsocialist opposition usually holds the Soviet Union responsible for the violations of [Sweden's] territorial waters. Bildt, the new chairman of the Conservative Party, is promoting a hard line in their relations with Moscow: The big neighbor must be pressured into respecting the inviolability of Sweden's territorial waters.

The General Staff did not in any way wish to assume a stance on the interview. Our informant, Jan Tyninger, said that the commander of the Armed Forces referred us to the Parliamentary Submarine Commission report of 1983. In it allusion is made to a Soviet U-boat that ran aground offshore of Karlskrona in 1981 and to other information that is available which is indicative of Soviet submarine activity in Swedish waters.

Tyninger said that since then they have not obtained any proof that would indicate that any one nation in particular is guilty.

On Monday the Armed Forces commander's quarterly report stated that territorial violations were still being made by U-boats. Fifteen "reliable" incidents were recorded during the 3 month period. No nation can be shown to be the perpetrator of these territorial violations.

During the interview Koivisto said that "about a year ago the Soviet Union told us that it would be very appropriate for the Swedes to direct heavy fire for effect on U-boats violating their territorial waters."

#### Demand for Bad News

Koivisto criticized the press and complained that "there is usually a demand for news that is unfavorable for Finland."

"If the same thing happens in Finland and Sweden, we know that it will be handled in a quite different way [in Finland]. A film was produced in Finland the English title of which is "Born American," and the film was censored in roughly the same way in Sweden and in Finland. Only what happened in Finland was news."

The president wishes that the Swedish newspapers had their own correspondents in Finland. At the present time Finnish editors send their material to the Swedish newspapers, from which the world's biggest news agencies copy it in Stockholm.

On Tuesday morning the president held a meeting with the chief editors of the Stockholm news media. Chief editor Bo Stromstedt of EXPRESSEN afterward described the discussion as "pleasant and stimulating." He said that the president did not criticize the Swedish press in connection with the matter. Since the discussion was confidential, it was not made public.

### Koivisto Criticizes Editors on Flimsy Grounds

Pentti Lumme, the chairman of the Foreign Correspondents Association, has criticized the views President Mauno Koivisto presented in DAGENS NYHETER of the image of Finland created by correspondents.

Lumme is of the opinion that Koivisto's feeling that Finland's image would somehow be transformed into a different one if Swedish citizens were to write about Finland in the Swedish newspapers is unfounded.

On hearing of Koivisto's statement, Lumme was of the opinion that the Finnish editors who write about him in the Finnish newspapers are not as competent as they could be.

"The president is quite right when he states that the journalists should not be judged. If we undertake to criticize them, it should not be done on the basis of editors' citizenship," Lumme emphasized.

He recalled that the president had criticized British editor Donald Fields, mentioning him by name, as early as last spring at the time of the Chernobyl accident for something which, according to Lumme, was actually due to officials' formal, rigid communiques.

### Swedish Foreign Ministry Silent

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 23 Oct 86 p 9

[Article by Timo Vuorela: "Koivisto's Comments Confuse Sweden"]

[Text] Stockholm--President Mauno Koivisto's private visit to Stockholm has given rise to many different kinds of opinions among the Swedes. He quite clearly left behind him a considerable amount of confusion, as he has before when he has wanted to say something to the Swedes.

The Swedish Foreign Ministry did not wish to comment at all on Wednesday on Koivisto's statements about searches for submarines in Swedish waters and the role of the Soviet Union as a suspected violator of Sweden's territorial waters.

Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson announced on Tuesday that he supported the proposal Koivisto made in a speech at the Paasikivi Society to study measures to put a stop to the arms race in the waters surrounding Northern Europe, measures that would add to trust and security.

The president appeared at the Tuesday evening press conference with Prime Minister Carlsson and said that "there are no particular problems between our two countries."

Later during the same conference Koivisto had to answer a question concerning a subject that is sensitive for the Swedes, violations of their territory by submarines and the fruitless searches for them. He said that the Soviets had "publicly announced that they had no interest whatsoever in sending submarines or other craft into Sweden's waters."



In an interview he gave to the Finnish-speaking editorial staff of the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation on Wednesday morning, Koivisto said that in Sweden they have gotten into an embarrassing situation since they have to assume a position on a sensitive issue for Sweden concerning which there appear to be precise opinions.

He said that, since the issue has again been raised, he remembered what the Soviet Union emphatically stated a few years ago.

When Koivisto was asked whether a false image of Finland is presented in Sweden, the president replied that he did not know which was the right one. According to him, an outsider can sometimes assess matters better than the parties concerned themselves.

According to Koivisto, however, it seems that the custom of playing up news items about Finland that contain barbs directed at some issue is prevalent. According to the president, we then assume that news is produced that does not provide the best image, what we ourselves would like to create.

The Stockholm afternoon newspapers hastened to review his visit on their editorial pages on Wednesday. Both of them avoided any mention of the most sensitive issue, the submarines. Both, however, commended the new initiative for increasing the security of [Sweden's] territorial waters.

The Social Democratic AFTONBLADET considered Koivisto's initiative to have chances of bearing fruit. The independent EXPRESSEN stated that the president had demonstrated his concern over an issue common to all of Northern Europe.

The politeness displayed by the newspapers was almost striking since the chief editors who spoke with Koivisto were almost unanimously of the opinion that Finland's image in the Swedish newspapers will not be changed just like that.

#### Homeward Bound in the Afternoon

The presidential couple returned home from their unofficial trip to Sweden on Wednesday.

The camouflage-colored Air Force Fokker that carried Koivisto touched down at Helsinki-Vantaa Airport shortly after noon. Because of the unofficial nature of his trip, no public welcome was organized at Helsinki-Vantaa Airport.

Koivisto will probably make his next state visit to India. That trip will take place early next spring just before the parliamentary elections.

## Comment Irritates Swedish Newspaper

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 24 Oct 86 p 13

[Article by Timo Vuorela: "SVENSKA DAGBLADET Takes Offense at Koivisto's Comment on U-Boats"]

[Text] Stockholm--In its Thursday editorial the Swedish daily SVENSKA DAGBLADET in strong terms criticized President Mauno Koivisto's statements about U-boat movements in Sweden's territorial waters and the Soviet Union's role in connection with them.

Sweden's leading conservative daily is thoroughly offended by Koivisto's behavior during his private visit to Stockholm which lasted 2 days.

In another editorial the newspaper said that in the presence of several Swedish editors, in addition to repeating what he had heard in Moscow, the president also expressed his own doubt about the claim that the submarines accused of territorial violations were Soviet submarines -- and stated that they had never been in Swedish waters.

At a press conference he gave Koivisto refused to say anything more about a matter on which he is not an expert. In SVENSKA DAGBLADET's opinion, "it would have been wise of the president to have held his tongue a couple of sentences sooner."

"Finnish President Puts Swedes to Shame"

"The Finnish president has put to shame -- and this is not the first time -- both the Swedish defense establishment and the Swedish Government. They were informed by the president that they have taken action for no reason when they have for years now reacted to repeated territorial violations by submarines in Swedish waters.

"Most recently on Monday Foreign Minister Sten Andersson and Defense Minister Roine Carlsson expressed their deep concern over these territorial violations, which the Armed Forces commander had reported on on that same day. Anxiety for no reason at all, they heard from the Finnish president, who obviously knows better."

In SVENSKA DAGBLADET's opinion, it is Koivisto's own business if he wants to believe the Soviets rather than the Swedes. "But why does he throw it in the faces of his Swedish hosts? And why does he go even farther than that and dispute the assertion that territorial violations have taken place at all?"

Koivisto's peculiar nature explains his popularity in Finland, the paper says, and hopes that the president will somewhat abandon his hermit-like ways and get himself a foreign policy advisor. "He needs someone with whom he can talk before he speaks in public."

SVENSKA DAGBLADET chief editor Ola Gummeson said that he had canceled his participation in the meeting with Koivisto on Tuesday because the president had granted exclusive interview rights to DAGENS NYHETER, the independent Stockholm newspaper.

The cancellation took place on the same morning, just before the discussion session held during the morning hours at the Finnish ambassador's official residence. Gummeson said that there were no other reasons for the cancellation.

11,466

CSO: 3617/16

## VAYRYNEN POPULARITY DROPS AS ELECTIONS APPROACH

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 28 Dec 86 pp 3, 6

[Text] Foreign Minister Paavo Vayrynen's popularity plunged steeply during the fall. In the popularity comparisons of government ministers Vayrynen dropped to dead last. According to an opinion poll commissioned by AAMULEHTI, the most popular minister in government is Eeva Kuuskoski-Vikatmaa, whose popularity clearly surpassed Prime Minister Kalevi Sorsa's, among others.

Welfare and Health Minister Eeva Kuuskoski-Vikatmaa (Center Party) is the most popular minister in the present government according to an opinion poll commissioned by the Conservative Party newspaper AAMULEHTI. 968 Finns responded to questions by Gallup of Finland, giving grades for each of the ministers in government.

Second on the popularity scale is Foreign Trade Minister Jermu Laine (Social Democrat) and third is Prime Minister Kalevi Sorsa (Social Democrat). Fourth is Justice Minister Christoffer Taxell (Swedish Party).

Chief Editor at AAMULEHTI, Pertti Pesonen, also evaluated the popularity tail-enders in government. The newspaper has monitored minister popularity throughout the term of this government.

"According to supporters of his own party, Labor Affairs Minister Urpo Leppanen is one of the very best ministers. The rest of the people continue to consider him unsuccessful at his job. The popularity of Foreign Minister Paavo Vayrynen has taken a surprising turn. Having begun this term in government as the least popular minister he stunningly rose to above average until leveling off in the spring of 1985. Now this drop to 13th place on the list comes as a surprise."

## Social Democrats and Center Party Embroiled In Dispute

According to Pesonen the supporters of the Social Democrats and those of the Center Party have distanced themselves from each other.

Partnership in government has not made brethren of the Soviet Democrat and Center Party supporters. Center Party adherents rate all five of their own ministers as being better than the best of the Social Democrats.

"Those in the Social Democratic camp reply in like measure. They place four Social Democrats among their top five ministers and drop the chairman of the Center Party to second to last."

"In the opinion of Center Party backers Vayrynen is undisputably number one, and his grade holds steady at the earlier 7.6 out of 10. The Social Democrats have dropped their Sorsa's rating from its springtime peak of 8.1 but they still keep the gap between him and continuing number two Laine a respectful one.

13002/12851

CSO: 3617/38

SORSA: SDP, SKDL, CONSERVATIVE COLLABORATION POSSIBLE

Helsinki TIEDONANTAJA in Finnish 28 Oct 86 p 3

[Text] The chairman of the Social Democratic Party (SDP), Prime Minister Kalevi Sorsa, has stated his position, relying on Aarne Saarinen for the possibility of a government coalition composed of the Social Democrats, the Conservative Party and the SKDL [Finnish People's Democratic League] after the elections next spring.

Sorsa also in a very sharp tone criticized the Center Party leadership, charging them with conservative leanings and with squandering President Kekkonen's ideological legacy.

According to Sorsa, "the possibility of collaboration between the Social Democrats and the Conservative Party has been raised more substantially than before in the discussion concerning a postelection government coalition."

"The idea of this broadly)based Left)Conservative government coalition raised by former SKP [Finnish Communist Party] chairman Aarne Saarinen has produced more support for the possibility of collaboration between the SDP and the Conservative Party."

Sorsa stressed the fact that collaboration between the SDP and the Center Party has up to now worked so well that a Center)Left coalition has undeniably been the chief alternative. According to him, Center Party chairman Paavo Vayrynen is now, however, leading his party so far to the Right that "it is running into the ditch at the side of the road."

Speaking in Helsinki on Monday, Sorsa said that he would abandon a Center)Left coalition between the SDP and the Center Party "with a feeling of sadness." In his opinion, however, the fact that the Center Party leadership's proposals aimed at lowering citizens' standard of living find their most ardent supporters among the most conservative members of Parliament is not without symptomatic importance.

Speaking at the 80th anniversary celebration of the Pitajamaki Workers Union, Sorsa reminded his listeners that the SDP had imposed two primary conditions for a government coalition. The composition of the government should be so

strong that it is capable of pursuing long)term policies. Moreover, it should be broadly based.

"To fulfill these conditions, the Social Democrats would have to be capable of reaching agreement on a government platform with both of the chief nonsocialist parties," Sorsa emphasized.

#### Fateful Elections for the Worker Movement

Chairman Sorsa described the March parliamentary elections as fateful elections for the worker movement. In them it will be decided whether the nation will continue to develop through joint efforts. Sorsa considered the other possibility to be a return to a society in which there is no basic security and the rights of the weaker ones are trampled underfoot.

In his speech Sorsa did not assume a position on how far his own government has advanced this development these past few years by taxing social security benefits and household electricity. At the same time taxes for people with high incomes and for big firms were lowered.

11,466

CSO: 3617/25

## PAPER COMMENTS ON COURT DECISION ON CP SPLIT

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 27 Dec 86 p 2

[Editorial: "Finland's Communist Party Finds a New Divisive Issue"]

[Text] The surprising decision of the Helsinki Municipal Court on a Communist Party internal dispute has created an exceptional situation. It turns out that the decision of a "bourgeois court" supports the view of the minority wing. But before this the association and political party register of the justice ministry had already approved the new regulations as drafted by the majority.

Under the new conditions the minority can regard itself as having won a partial victory at an opportune time before the elections. In reality the significance of the partial victory is of secondary importance. The majority will appeal onto the Appeals Court and the result will be a true legal dispute on top of an internal political dispute. The possibilities for reconciliation cannot, under any estimation, increase in this way. The credibility of communism will thus be crumbled with mutual efforts and in even more ways than before.

Before the Appeals Court has stated its opinion on the issue it can be said that the Arvo Aalto-led majority has itself stumbled on the block it chose to place in the way of the Taisto Sinisalo and Jouko Kajanoja led minority. According to the decision of the municipal court the Communist Party call to an extra party convention did not contain as detailed a description of rules changes as the party regulations require. For this reason the court did not consider the dismissals made under the new rules to be valid either.

In all its seriousness the dispute has its comical aspect. Local branches that have for years followed a separate line, on top of that use a party emblem and expired membership cards and enter elections as a separate entity, are, according to the court decision, still part of the majority led party. In this battle over the past of the Community Party its future seems more uncertain than ever.

13002/12851  
CSO: 3617/38



## COMMUNISTS IN NO HURRY TO SELECT PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 25 Nov 86 p 12

[Article: "SKP's (Finnish Communist Party) Central Committee Does not Rush: SKDL (Finnish People's Democratic League) Postpones Nominating Presidential Candidate"]

[Text] The Central Committee of SKP is not rushing to nominate SKDL's presidential candidate before the parliamentary elections. The Central Committee did not give any instructions to SKDL's Advisory Council which will meet next weekend, but SKP wants SKDL to have its own candidate in the presidential elections.

On Monday, after the meeting of the Central Committee, Chairman Arvo Aalto said that there is no hurry to nominate a candidate. SKDL does not have the same kind of urgency as the Center Party and the Conservative Party, which already have nominated their candidates.

There are also practical reasons for SKDL to hurry slowly. The presidential candidate-to-be, Kalevi Kivisto, governor of the province of Keski-Suomi [Central Finland], has been unwilling to be nominated as a presidential candidate before the parliamentary elections.

Kivisto, who took his position as governor at the beginning of last year, has been in trouble, among others with KESKISUOMALAINEN, the leading newspaper of his province. KESKISUOMALAINEN opposed Kivisto's appointment as governor and his presidential candidacy might dig up the old disputes again.

SKDL considers the cabinet which will be formed after the parliamentary elections to be an opening for Kivisto's candidacy. If SKDL is included in the cabinet, Kivisto is qualified to be a minister. For Kivisto it would be easier to run the campaign for presidential elections as a minister than as a governor.

#### Change to Economic Policy

At the end of its meeting, the Central Committee released an extensive communique giving a very bleak picture of today's Finnish society. According to it, for example, power and wealth are being concentrated, racketeering is blooming and indifference towards people is becoming widespread.

The Central Committee believes that a change must be implemented, in which the power must be transferred from the banks to the citizens. At the same time, national enterprise activities must be firmly developed in order to strengthen the backbone of the national economy.

According to SKP, more and more people are ready to rebel, and this has already been manifested, for example, during strikes. The efforts made by the employers' organizations to weaken the labor union movement of SAK [Central Federation of Finnish Trade Unions] have failed, according to the communique.

Another positive aspect that SKP sees is citizens' participation, on "mass level," in the preservation of nature and the environment. In addition, the peace movement is strong and versatile. SKP believes that the desire and the power to change must now be directed to the parliamentary elections.

#### More Seats

Arvo Aalto believes that SKDL will obtain more seats in the Parliament than the current 17 members. Aalto also strongly condemned estimates that SKDL would have lost some of its support to the Democratic Alternative [DA], established by the minority communists.

Aalto believes that all representatives of DA--except Esko-Juhani Tennila--were elected to the Parliament with SKDL's support, and DA's own support has not been measured yet.

The Central Committee approved an amendment to the rules which was sent to the departments to be discussed. The amendment is scheduled for approval in SKP's 21st convention which will be held from 12 to 14 June.

The so-called "Central Committee of the Organizations of SKP," representing the former minority in SKP, will hold its own 21st convention a week earlier.

12956

CSO: 3617/31

## ELECTION OUTCOME SEEN DETERMINED BY LARGE SWING VOTER GROUP

## 'Puritanical' Social Concerns Discussed

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 18 Jan 87 p 32

[Article by Unto Hamalainen]

[Text] Swing voters will decide who wins in the elections. These undecided voters will make their decisions during the final weeks before the elections. Their votes will go to the party that can steal the election issues under discussion for itself.

The Center parties have recently presented their election issues. The SDP [Social Democratic Party] and the Conservative Party put up their election posters as early as last fall, but they are saving their last-word slogans until we are closer to the elections. In the last elections the SDP and the Conservative Party came up with the same election slogan for their posters.

In the last elections Veikko Vennamo hit upon the idea of a campaign against crooked bosses and Pekka Vennamo led the SMP [Finnish Rural Party] to a great election victory.

This time hatred of the bosses has been exchanged for puritanicalism. There is once again respect for the basic conservative values.

The signs of the times are like a lay preacher's account of the end of the world. AIDS is killing 100,000 Finns. Drunk drivers are killing families with children with their driving. Divorces are granted merely by announcement to the appropriate office. Slimy video salesmen are getting rich by ruining little children's imagination.

The level of nitrogen dioxide in the atmosphere increases during severe cold spells. It is hard to breathe since pollutants force their way into people's mouths. Our neighbor unleashes silent death on the streets of Chernobyl. The next bite one takes may contain contaminated fish from the Rhine.

The Wartsilas, VALMET's [State Metal Industry Company] and contractors are laying people off. People are working in distant lands.

The population of Finland is declining. People are not having children. No one nowadays pays pensions to people of working age.

#### For the First Time AIDS Is an Election Issue

The puritanical atmosphere is adding fuel to the AIDS debate. These elections will be the first AIDS elections.

Just before the last local elections, then Finance Minister Ahti Pekkala (KESK [Center Party]) could still crack jokes about AIDS' being "the wages of sin" and cross out funds for research on the disease in the budget with his red pencil. Today, AIDS appropriations are approved for the national budget with just a blow of the gavel.

AIDS has been of even greater significance in terms of people's behavior. Absurd anecdotes have been distorted into scary stories at which people laugh only because they are compelled to. Swaggering boors do not make jokes about the gay streets. People do not dare to engage in infidelities or even think of doing so. Hostility to strangers is raising its head.

Teenagers get free condoms from the Medical Board and instructions on how to use them. The moral bans and commandments of the days of old are now held in quite a new kind of respect.

#### Will Quick Divorce Produce a Moral Bomb in the Elections?

The atmosphere began to be felt in Parliament too even before Christmas. The video supervision bill quickly turned into a video censorship bill. As its first act, the new Parliament is making the bill a more stringent one, a law which will put an end to the sale of video tapes banned for viewing by young people.

Yet another moral bomb is lying in wait for us in Parliament. The Laws Committee intends to permit older couples who are in agreement on a settlement and who have no minor children to obtain quick divorces.

This bill may unleash any sort of moral debate whatsoever. Before the last elections, they had to shelve the last-name bill when the moral opposition began to make a lot of noise. This may happen to those who are promoting the quick divorce too.

#### Public Is Demanding Punishment for Drunk Drivers

On Tuesday evening Finns viewed a program on television's Channel 2 Current Events Series that may influence the elections far more than any dull election platforms.

Editor Kari Lahteenmaki had put together a film from video tapes spanning over a year in the life of a single family: first the wedding, then the christening of the family's child and after that the deaths of the mother and child due to an auto accident in Orimattila caused by a drunk driver. At the end of the film we got to hear the thoughts of the severely hurt and indignant father.

The fact that officials can show that the number of cases of drunk driving has declined over the past 10 years is not enough for people. People are demanding stiffer sentences than before.

Shortly before the Orimattila accident, a resolution was passed in Parliament to the effect that a person could take the wheel only when completely sober. Parliament's backbenchers, those members of Parliament who still have to deal with ordinary people face to face, voted for the resolution. Party leaders and ministers voted against the resolution.

After the accident, every member of Parliament hastened to condemn drunk driving. Transport Minister Matti Luttinen demanded that a device for measuring the amount of alcohol imbibed be installed in every car.

People's pessimism over the state of the world has come as a surprise to the big, established parties. These elections were supposed to be ordinary local elections. Campaigning against crooked bosses and excessive concern for environmental protection seemed to have run their course.

As early as last spring, the five biggest parties, the Social Democrats, the KESK, the Conservative Party, the Communists and the SMP, commissioned a joint opinion poll in which people were asked what they wanted.

People hoped for jobs, housing and care centers for their children. From polls they switched to party election platforms. Of course, the technique is different but, as short election slogans, they appear to be copies of one another.

The Finnish Christian League went through its time of affliction on the threshold of a new puritan area. Sentenced to death, the party is itself astonished at the direction from which the wind is now blowing. Esko Almgren and his colleagues' initiatives suddenly began to be adopted in Parliament last fall.

Suddenly people everywhere started to speak a language of archaic morality. The change was so swift that the Christian League was dumbfounded. Just before Christmas the league publicly announced its still very ordinary election issues and had an innocuous election poster printed on which there was a quite ordinary caption: "A responsible influence--the Christian League."

Apparently Almgren and his pals heard the voice of the people more clearly than usually during their Christmas vacation and quickly returned to a real old-time Christian League.

On Thursday Almgren published a condemnation in their election slogans of the increase in drinking and reckless drunk driving and demanded that young people abstain from sex. The most malicious tongues said that an AIDS poster would be more suitable as a Christian League election poster than a delicate wood anemone.

## Big Parties Rely on Money

The atmosphere could provide a good point of departure for the election campaigns of the Christian Leaguers and other parties that cloak themselves in the mantle of puritanism. Supporters of puritanism can still be found in quarters where it is unexpected.

The foundations of party existence have not, however, been rocked. The big parties in the end rely on their regular voters, whose party preference has been passed on from father to son and who follow the advice of the local union or producers' association in choosing a candidate.

The big parties have more money than ever before for their election campaigns. The big organizations have been put to work in the election campaigns. The parties have more exact information on people's states of mind than in past years.

Sociologists, psychologists and ad men serve as assistants to the party leaders. The parties are for the first time using their own computers which with lightning speed create tables and process and analyze data into statistics and curves.

Video has completely changed the fundamentals of the party world. For one's evening entertainment at home one can procure tapes on Kalevi Sorsa, Ilkka Suominen or Paavo Vayrynen for little money. Not yet, however, from the video store, but party service outlets provide election materials for all purposes.

But who wins the elections will depend on the vagabonds of politics. Every seat in Parliament means a million markkas to a party. That is why the lights are burning far into the night in the party offices. Fortunately, they only have to put in such long hours once every 4 years.

## Party Platforms Outlined

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 18 Jan 87 p 32

[Article: "Party Statements"]

[Text] Party preparations for the elections are only just beginning. Not all the parties have yet made public their election platforms, some have only specified the important issues in the election campaign and some have already managed to think out what they will say is important on the basis of their experiences with the issues. The appended list of issues and slogans has been put together from election platforms announced by the parties and from party bureau replies to questions posed by different newspapers.

## Social Democrats

Shall we build Finland by acting selfishly--or cooperatively?  
Employment.  
The cost of food.

Taxes.  
The environment.

#### Conservative Party

Jobs must be protected.  
The family must be supported.  
Knowledge and know-how must be developed.  
The vital environment must be protected.  
A complete tax reform must be carried out.

#### Center Party

Everyone has a right to work.  
Everyone has a right to continuous basic subsistence security.  
Everyone has a right to social services.  
Time for the children--alternatives to child care.  
The housing shortage must be eliminated.  
We must come to grips with the most serious environmental problems.  
A vigorous rural sector is our national life insurance.  
Forward with the Kekkonen policy line.

#### Finnish People's Democratic League

Reasonably priced housing.  
Safe workplaces.  
Fair Taxes.  
Control the power of the banks.

#### SMP

Basic subsistence security for everyone.  
Implement the employment law.  
The exporting of capital must be restricted.  
Reform income tax.  
Do away with minimal limits [on income tax deductions] and street taxes.  
A healthy vital environment.  
Nuclear power must be abandoned.  
Housing for forest dwellers.  
Take care of the employment problem.  
Day care.  
The status of low-wage earners.

#### Swedish People's Party

Our children's future must be protected.  
The nation must be in Thy service.  
Do away with rental housing lines.  
Work must be remunerative.  
Healthy competition instead of monopolies.  
Support Swedish-language culture and bilingualism.

## Democratic Alternative

An end to the arms race, and disarmament.  
Jobs for everyone.  
Finland's natural environment must be protected.  
International cooperation on an equal basis.  
The extension of democracy.

## Finnish Christian League

Implement the family policy.  
Respect Christian values.  
Business firms and the society have different functions.  
A clean environment.  
Honesty and a desire to serve.

## Greens

A new direction for economic policy.  
Let us break away from the ability to compete internationally.  
Environmental protection.  
Human equality.  
The creation of a citizens' society.  
Balanced development of the country--without forgetting the world.

## Constitutional Conservative Party

Human rights and pensioner, patient, war veteran and disabled person affairs.  
Memorial to Risto Rytti, the voluntary militiamen and other volunteer defenders of the country.  
Complete "Reagan-style" tax reform.  
Defense policy as a factor equal in merit to security policy.  
Free the rental housing market--rent control must be ended.

## Kulhiaists

Unemployment must be eliminated.  
Housing and day-care problems as well as environment and traffic problems must be resolved.  
Taxes must be simplified and applied equitably.  
The quality of the public services and state companies must be improved.  
Finland's international activities must be intensified in matters involving peace and development aid.

## Liberal Party

More jobs.  
Work must be made remunerative.  
Get housing affairs into shape.  
More children--protect the future.  
Let us pay for our natural environment.  
More freedom--away with guardianship.



## Democratic Alternative Stresses Soviet Tie

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 19 Jan 87 p 13

[Article: "DEVA Measures Candidates' Desire for Peace; Greens, Six Independents and Five Socialist Worker Party Candidates on Stalinist Tickets"]

[Text] Representing mainly Stalinist Communists, the Democratic Alternative (DEVA) intends to measure the desire for peace of every party's parliamentary candidates by insisting that they commit themselves to peace.

On Sunday the DEVA's gave as the reason for their peace list plan, which is still open in terms of form, the need to get members of Parliament to be vigilant and hoped that the other parties would join them.

The DEVA's were inspired to urge members of Parliament to be vigilant by the people's elected representative system in the Soviet Union during their visit there, which ended on Saturday.

In Moscow the DEVA was given the mission of serving as an intermediary in establishing contacts between the Finnish Greens and the resident movement and the Soviet civic organizations.

Yrjo Makinen, a member of the DEVA Executive Committee, will, according to Stalinist shadow SKP [Finnish Communist Party] first secretary Jouko Kajanoja, contact the Greens, who can then themselves agree on whether to continue relations.

### About the President After the Elections

Meeting in Helsinki, the DEVA Advisory Committee decided to discuss the presidential elections and the nomination of their own candidate after the March parliamentary elections and the organizational discussion.

The subject was unexpectedly raised at the DEVA party congress in December when younger members proposed that DEVA chairwoman Kristiina Halkola be a candidate. SOL [Socialist Students League] representatives are now content with the resolution.

DEVA leaders were not willing to say how many seats in Parliament the DEVA is aiming for. Kajanoja gave as the reason for their silence the brevity of the DEVA's existence.

The DEVA will file full tickets in all election districts with the exception of Aland. All 10 Stalinist representatives in Parliament are candidates.

It is clear from the DEVA tickets that, among the 230 names, there are six independents and five Socialist Worker Party (STP) candidates.

According to Kajanoja, a third of the candidates in Turku's southern election district, for example, are Greens. The DEVA did not have an exact figure on

the number of candidates that may be counted as Greens. Among the actors who are running for Parliament on DEVA tickets are Halkola, Pertti Roisko, Anneli Pakkasvirta (Sauli) and Erkki Pajala.

Among the writers on them are Matti Rossi and Finlandia candidate Kirsti Paltto.

Lauritsala Workers Ballplayers Association coach Martti Halme is also a candidate, but not Stalinist party chairman Taisto Sinisalo.

#### More Rights for Members of Parliament

The DEVA is not satisfied with the treatment of members of Parliament in, for example, the Freda 42 movement and wants members of Parliament to have the right to free access to jobs and to otherwise act freely.

In the bill it is drafting, the DEVA is demanding live broadcasting and telecasting of Parliament's plenary sessions and the right for parties to establish service posts in Parliament.

The DEVA is celebrating Homeless Year by demanding that 30,000 ARAVA [State Housing Construction Commission] housing units be built. The DEVA is looking into [a proposal for] a 3,000-markka-a-month tax exemption for unemployed workers. The DEVA is demanding that the government appoint a committee to investigate the internationalization of the economy.

The DEVA managed to approve its election platform proper in Turku as early as December. It proposes the enactment of an employment law that will guarantee everyone a job, an increase in imports from the Soviet Union and community day-care centers for everyone who needs one by 1990.

#### Greens Reject Stalinists' Bid

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 21 Jan 87 p 21

[Text] The Greens movement wants to take care of its relations with the Soviet Union and everyone else too on its own. Greens Member of Parliament Kalle Konkkola announced on Tuesday that the Greens do not need help from the Stalinist election party, the DEVA, in taking care of their relations with the Soviet Union.

The DEVA delegation visiting in Moscow last week had extended greetings to the Greens. According to the DEVA announcement, interest has been expressed in the Soviet Union for organizing relations with the Greens movement.

#### Greens Establish National Organization

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 17 Jan 87 p 12

[Text] The Greens will establish a national association at the end of February. To be registered as the Green League, its bylaws have now been

drafted. The founding of the league was decided on in a preliminary manner last fall at a mass meeting of the Greens in Tampere.

The Green League will not be composed of individual members, rather of different ideological and local associations. The ideological associations are, for example, the Green Feminists, the Environmental Policy Society and the just recently founded Green Society, which is composed of a group of so-called politically oriented Greens.

Unorganized or provisional groups and movements may also be represented in the Green League. For that purpose, in addition to the bylaws that go into the association register, they also intend to approve "unofficial regulations" for the league. In accordance with these, a "real annual meeting" will be held before the official annual meeting which provisional groups may also attend and at which decisions will also be made.

Therefore, the official annual meeting, which will be attended by representatives of the registered associations, will merely confirm decisions that have already been made.

The purpose of the Green League is to improve the maintenance of contacts among the Greens and training, to procure and disseminate information and to participate in political discussion.

#### Election Campaign Will Be Taken Care of Elsewhere

An executive committee composed of from 15 to 25 members will be chosen to head the league. It may take stands on issues, but only in its own name. Five-sixths of the committee members present at the time must back the position to be adopted. The executive committee will choose a chairman for the league from among its members.

The league will not participate in parliamentary or local elections. Johanna Suurpaa, a member of the committee that drafted the league's bylaws, stated that the reason for this was that "the league does not want to monopolize the Green movement."

Associations founded for election district work and clearly for election campaigns will not be accepted as members. The parliamentary delegation will continue its work as an independent body irrespective of the league. The league will not interfere with the work of local Green politicians either.

The league will procure funds through membership fees, among other sources. The Greens will not get a party subsidy through the league.

#### Rural Party Attacks Poverty

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 18 Jan 87 p 11

[Article: "SMP Opposes Poverty with a 100-Markka 'Cost Compensation'; Leppanen's Lessons Available After the Elections"]

[Text] The SMP is setting out to fight the windmills of poverty by demanding a basic subsistence security measure that would guarantee everyone a "citizen's cost compensation" of 100 markkas a day.

SMP delegates approved the election platform introduced by the party administration in Helsinki on Saturday and was terrified by opinion polls predicting the decline of the SMP.

Parliamentary delegation chairman J. Juhani Korttesalmi nevertheless prophesied on the basis of his "gut feeling" that the SMP would capture 25 seats.

The [party] chairman, Tax Minister Pekka Vennamo, was more cautious and estimated that the party would be able to do better than it did in the last elections, 17 seats, which to be sure dropped to 16 on Friday when Ulla Lehtinen defected to the Constitutional Conservatives.

#### Leppanen Platform Is a Guideline

The SMP did not follow the example of the KESK's 73-point election platform, instead typing its objectives on five sheets of typing paper.

Nearly half of the platform is devoted to writing about the objectives of Vennamo and Labor Minister Urho Leppanen's ministries.

The SMP appears to assume that Leppanen will stay on at the head of the Labor Ministry during the next election term too or at least that the new minister will apply Leppanen's prescriptions for employment.

"Let us carry out Labor Minister Urho Leppanen's unemployment elimination program by means of which we will create 150,000 new jobs in 1987-1990," they tediously write in the election platform.

They intend to churn out new jobs into the world, chiefly through the new employment law. The SMP would restrict the exporting of capital from the country by means of a special tax or an export tax.

In its tax objectives the election platform does not as outspokenly assume that the name of the next tax minister will also be Pekka Vennamo.

The chief tax demand involves a complete reform of the income tax system, one which would simplify taxes, lower the tax burden on people with low and median incomes and tax large capital earnings and gains.

In its "poverty elimination platform" the SMP feels that everyone should have an income of at least 100 markkas a day at his disposal. The minimum limit for illness, maternity and unemployment benefits should likewise be raised to 100 markkas, as the SMP sees it.

In the opinion of the SMP, those without other means of subsistence could receive a citizen's wage.

## Into the Government, the Outcome of the Elections Permitting

The election platform contains the old demands for uncontaminated food, abandonment of the use of nuclear power and an end to large-scale agricultural production. The SMP also fashionably opposes acid rain.

As concerns housing policy, the SMP hopes that the interest rate on loans will be lowered to 5 percent with the aid of a subsidy system and that loan terms will be extended to 25 years.

The SMP has set its rental housing goal for the next election term at at least 50,000 units and is demanding that forest dwellers be provided with roofs over their heads in celebration of Homeless Year.

Vennamo did not conjecture as to whether the SMP's career in the government would continue after the elections too, merely contenting himself with stating that that would depend on its success in the elections and on whether the future government would endorse SMP objectives.

Vennamo opposed party delegates' desires to make demands by noting that the party's goals and actions must be in harmony with one another.

"We must not set ourselves propaganda platforms and objectives which we actually have no intention of achieving or which we know it is impossible to achieve," Vennamo indicated.

Vennamo called the platform a realistic one. It does not, among other things, include the scrapping of party subsidies.

11,466

CSO: 3617/48

## VEIL ON PARTISAN POLITICS, EUROPEAN POLICIES

Paris L'EVENEMENT DU JEUDI in French 6-12 Nov 86 pp 16-17

[Interview with Simone Veil, former president of the European Parliament, by Nicholas Domenach]

[Text] [L'EVENEMENT DU JEUDI] What do you think of the inability of the Europeans to demonstrate firmness as a group against Syria?

[Simone Veil] This is not the first time, regrettably, that the Europeans have manifested their inability to act or react together. Until a very recent date, France had always shown laxity toward the Italian [Red] Brigades and the Basque terrorists, and she has not yet ratified the Dublin Convention for the extradition of terrorists. She may be on the verge of doing so, but with regard to the case in point, the dispersed attitudes of the Europeans is particularly striking and distressing in light of the declarations against terrorism and the recent commitments made by the 12 member countries of the EEC.

[Question] Only England showed consistency.

[Answer] I admire Margaret Thatcher for having immediately taken measures following the conviction in the attempted attack on the Boeing. All the other European countries destroyed the credibility of their declarations against terrorism; not one of them was really prepared to support her. Perhaps it was particularly more difficult for France to align herself with such a hard-line stand and England was not asking as much. We cannot forget the hostages, the differences in diplomatic and economic interests, but there was no reason to formally declare that all acts of state-sponsored terrorism would result in rigorous reprisals.

[Question] Europe as an entity is as absent as ever from the international scene.

[Answer] Reykjavik, and now Syria, clearly point up the limits to the scope of the European Community's institutions. It has no common foreign policy. The 12 members consult with each other in order to speak with one voice, but most often are unable to do so. And, individually, our government's positions do not carry much weight. Europeans are aware of their specific

interests in relation to the two superpowers, but that is not enough to unite them. For their lack of unity, the Europeans are absent from the conduct of international affairs. Economics and trade are another matter: Europe does exist; the Commission in Brussels has the authority to negotiate in the name of the 12 member nations. It did so successfully in Punta del Este. All were delighted that the unity of "the Twelve" made it possible to win points over the United States and Japan.

[Question] How is Europe [as an entity] functioning at present?

[Answer] Europe is not going well. It will not be able to achieve broad objectives in the future unless it first functions well day-to-day. And its budgetary problems are such that they threaten our will and our ability to live together. There is a risk of a North-South split between European countries--the rich on the one side, and the poor on the other. Portugal, Spain and Italy hardly profit from the common agricultural policy (CAP) which was designed for the north's farm products--grain and livestock. They therefore want Europe to be built not to benefit the richest countries alone and for us to assist them more by approving credits from social and regional funds. France and Germany bring their weight to bear on decisions to have nearly all of the community's budget devoted to the CAP, with the complicity of England which thinks only about keeping its checks coming in the same amount.

[Question] The present French government's policies seem less Europe-oriented than its predecessor's.

[Answer] Positions on this subject do not split along majority-opposition lines. The previous government proved active in view of France's term as community president. This is what all governments do when their turn comes. But in order to get an agreement at Fontainebleau, it made the mistake of yielding on the admission of Spain and Portugal without there being sufficient resources set aside. As for the present government, on the one hand we could point out the progress made since 1979: In declarations on defense and security, we now dare to speak of the European dimension. This is an important change. Without mentioning the archaic reluctance of some to ratify the Unitary Act, we may well ask whether the Community, for some, is limiting itself to the benefits the common agricultural policy gives us, not seeing that if we want this to last, we will have to agree to financial efforts and agree to our partners receiving compensations. Similarly, we may be surprised that while proclaiming the importance of having European technology, we are the most reluctant of all to increase research funding. This lack of commitment and conviction can be dangerous. England attaches great importance to building the home market which favors its interests. We must be careful it is not done without us.

[Question] Is the idea of a president of Europe a good idea?

[Answer] Yes, of course, if it proves that we have made actual progress on the road toward a European political union that was opened by the Treaty of Rome in 1957. A president elected by universal suffrage is inconceivable without integrated institutions inspired by federalism. Without a common

foreign policy to be followed by all member nations, this president--even though elected--would be notably weak and could do nothing more than recognize the absence of unity. The president of the European Council under the rotational presidency system is now in that position. We cannot put the cart before the horse in this matter, without causing an institutional imbalance and serious dissensions among the heads of state and government who make up the European Council. Moreover, if such elections were to be held while Europe is not structured, they would center on an ideological debate between Right and Left, pitting the Socialists and the Christian Democrats in particular, the two main political forces in Europe. In the current state of affairs, this debate could divide the Europeans rather than unite them.

[Question] Is the presence of the French representatives to the European Parliament more noticeable than before?

[Answer] No, the presence of French representatives is much less noticeable than the others, particularly the English and the Germans. Important resolutions are voted on, practically without us. Even on matters directly affecting France, such as the Cattenom [nuclear] power plant, Luxembourgers can be seen mobilizing to reject blocking it from starting up, while the French are not there.

[Question] Are Barre's very pro-Europe positions what made you decide that the former prime minister was the best presidential candidate possible for the UDF [Union for French Democracy]?

[Answer] That is not the question, although in Metz, Raymond Barre did indeed make a speech on Europe that struck a new note. For the majority to win in 1988, the two main political forces of the majority must be more or less balanced. This strikes me as highly desirable if they are to be solidly and strongly united. And if the UDF is now lagging behind the RPR [Rally for the Republic], it is because it made the mistake of not having a potential prime minister [in the elections] last 16 March. This mistake must not be repeated in the presidential elections, unless it chooses not to have the ideas it represents play a part in the political life of the country. Of those who subscribe to its fundamental policies, the UDF should back the most credible person for presidential office. A merger of the two parties might have been envisaged, with mechanisms for taking account of the different currents of thought. For now, that opportunity is past.

[Question] Leotard is thinking of running...

[Answer] It is not enough to declare candidacy to be the one to rally the UDF. In that case, others could consider themselves as well positioned or qualified.

[Question] When should Barre announce his candidacy?

[Answer] That is his decision. But a party runs a risk in remaining without an heir. Nature abhors a vacuum. People have a need to direct their energies toward an image, a project, a personality. If this emotional need is not met, they may look to something else, even if that "something else" is not fully satisfying to them.



[Question] But you do not have the same conception of institutions as Barre?

[Answer] I think I have a very isolated position. I believe that the Constitution and particularly the customs that have evolved give too many powers to the president. In this regard, cohabitation, which I have always been in favor of, has allowed for a rebalancing of powers in favor of the prime minister, even though the conditions are not the best. Above all, parliament should be allowed to play its role, which is not now the case. Unlike other great democracies, our parliament is reduced to a background role, particularly because of the exorbitant powers given to the government by Article 49-3 of the constitution .

[Question] As someone who has spent 20 years in the legal profession, including 7 in prison administration (in the Bureau of Detention;) what do you think of the proposals to privatize prisons?

[Answer] If certain services such as food and laundry should be better managed, I do not find it at all objectionable. It is already being done, by the way, for certain services. On the other hand, I cannot conceive of giving up the public service prerogative, our mission of supervision, which necessarily entails the public service of ensuring discipline. Aside from the principles involved, this approach seems to me contrary to declarations on reinforcing the state's authority in the sphere of competency reserved to it. The serious consequences and incidents that could result from a delegation of such responsibilities must not be underestimated. We do not know what would happen to social service, educational programs, even if they are inadequate. When we learned of the abuses of certain contractors and recalling the difficulties of monitoring some of the private associations caring for juvenile delinquents, there is reason to be concerned because prison is a closed environment. Public status of itself constitutes a guarantee for the detainees as well as for third parties, because it engages the state's responsibility.

[Question] Ans should drug addicts be sent to prison?

[Answer] The distinction between dealers and users must be made. The latter must be given medical treatment to the extent possible. It is not enough to take their drugs away from them. Disintoxication and rehabilitation are long and difficult. They cannot be done in prison since they require the voluntary support of the subject.

[Question] What do you think of the expulsion of the 101 Malians?

[Answer] Not much is known about the expulsions or about the circumstances. Such as they have been described, I find them shocking for humanitarian reasons. Acts of this sort do not serve France's image.

[Question] The present French government does not seem very socially spirited.

[Answer] We do not know what should be said of its predecessor. With the Socialists, the very idea of collective solidarity disappeared. We do not know what happened to the social innovation and imagination they spoke so much about

before 1981. With regard to social welfare, we have exhausted the possibility of taking equal measures for all. No doubt we have even gone too far. Those who need them most must be specially targeted. I had begun doing this. This is the approach Mr Seguin and Mr Zeller have taken. I hope they can go farther in this direction.

12413/12951  
CSO: 3419/41

PRESTHUS LESS POPULAR THAN EARLIER CONSERVATIVE CHIEFS

Third Favored Party Chairman

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 23 Dec 86 p 3

[Article by Bjorn Talen: "Presthus Slightly Ahead of the Prime Minister"]

[Text] Hanna Kvanmo has further strengthened her position as the nation's most favored political leader. Rolf Presthus comes in second, barely ahead of Gro Harlem Brundtland. But the Conservative Party's prime ministerial candidate is much less favored than his predecessor, and the fact that one in four Conservative voters do not rate Presthus among their three most favored politicians could pose a serious problem.

Three times a year Gallup/NOI asks this polling question for AFTENPOSTEN:

"Listed on this card in alphabetical order are the names of six politicians, one from each of six parties. Which of these politicians do you favor the most, second most and third most?"

Kvanmo On Top

One third of those polled responded that they favor Socialist Left-Party (SV) parliamentary leader Hanna Kvanmo the most. The fact that the SV parliamentary leader is the most popular is not new, but she is also steadily advancing her lead on the others. Only half as many--17 percent--said they favor Rolf Presthus the most. And Gro Harlem Brundtland has to be content with approximately the same response of 16 percent. Furthermore, the prime minister is losing ground. Last February, 25 percent of those polled said they favored her the most.

Problem For Presthus

Since Presthus was included in this poll for the first time, his support cannot be compared with earlier polling results. However,

he scored much lower than Kare Willoch ever did before him and that does not bode well for the Conservative Party's prime ministerial candidate.

Only 41 percent of his own voters rated him above the others. Willoch scored 68 percent the last time. To be sure, this is somewhat better than Gro Harlem Brundtland's own party support (39 percent), but Presthus was less often rated second and third most favored than his rival.

Adding up the support for the top three candidates, Presthus had the least support among his own party voters than any of the political leaders included in this poll. While 95 percent of the Socialist Left Party and the Christian People's Party voters respectively rated Hanna Kvanmo and Kjell Magne Bondevik among the top three, the corresponding support for Rolf Presthus among the Conservatives was 76 percent.

Carl I. Hagen and Kjell Magne Bondevik headed third place--both with 12 percent voter support--following Kvanmo and the leaders of the two big parties. Voter support for the Progressive Party leader has doubled since last March and Bondevik is also gaining. Support for Center Party leader Johan J. Jakobsen remains steady at about six to seven percent.

#### Hagen Slipping

If we were to award three points to the candidate in first place, two points to second-place and one point to the third-place candidate, the result would be somewhat different. Hanna Kvanmo would still be the sovereign winner, but Gro Harlem Brundtland would move into second place. Kjell Magne Bondevik would still surpass Presthus, while Carl I. Hagen would come in last following Johan J. Jakobsen.

But Hagen, on the other hand, has gained the most voter support compared to earlier polls this year. Despite lesser support this time, Gro Harlem Brundtland has moved from third to second place since Willoch is out of the picture. On the other hand, Jakobsen was surpassed by Bondevik although Jakobsen gained some popularity.

#### Also On Top In Labor Party

All these politicians were given top rating within their own parties except for Gro Harlem Brundtland. She was most favored by 39 percent of the Labor Party voters, while 42 percent chose Hanna Kvanmo. Rolf Presthus was rated next to last among his own party members, while Socialist Liberal Party and Christian People's Party voters were most loyal to their own leaders. It is also worth noting that Conservative voters favored Hanna Kvanmo over Carl I. Hagen.

Hanna Kvanmo was most favored by almost all social groups, also by high-income and well-educated voters. Only among the eldest voters was the Socialist Left-Party queen dethroned by Rolf Presthus and Gro Harlem Brundtland, who is the most favored politician among voters over 60. Presthus was also slightly ahead of Kvanmo in Oslo/Akershus.

#### Party Faces Leadership Problems

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 27 Dec 86 p 3

[Article by Lars Hellberg: "Great Demands on Rolf Presthus as Waiting-List Candidate"]

[Text] The Conservative Party faces leadership problems inasmuch as the party has a chairman and a temporarily idle prime ministerial candidate due to the absence of a change of government. Rolf Presthus must be prepared to take over as prime minister on short notice. He must make the necessary preparations without much less knowing whether he might eventually have to form a new three-party government.

Hardly anyone would even think of envying him the position he now finds himself in. But he alone can solve the problem. Presthus must take command and step forth as the unifying leader of the three former nonsocialist government parties. It is obvious that the Conservative Party chairman must tread cautiously to keep the prime ministerial candidate from stumbling, and there are limits as to how willing to compromise the prime ministerial candidate can be without it affecting the party chairman's trustworthiness.

#### Split

Had the three former government parties remained united on a nonsocialist alternative, this balancing act would not have been a problem for Presthus. He would have found himself in a transition phase, moving from one position into another. However, his problem is that the three parties are sufficiently split on economic policy to make the talk of a quick change of government unreliable. Consequently, he is a waiting-list candidate for an indefinite period of time. Disappointment among voters and party officials throughout the country has made the problem even worse. The Conservative Party also has people firing at the pianist when they dislike the composition.

Of course, it would not be easy for anyone to assume the role of Conservative Party prime ministerial candidate succeeding Kare Willoch. It does not make it any easier that Willoch remains the central figure in a parliamentary group of which Jan P. Syse is the commanding chairman. This is a familiar pattern from other

political parties.

### Power Struggle

The power struggle between Kjell Magne Bondevik and Kare Kristiansen after Lars Korvald withdrew is one example; the sharing of two top Labor Party positions between Reiulf Steen and Odvar Nordli is another. As you know, these situations ended in a coup within both parties.

Gro Harlem Brundtland assumed both positions in the Labor Party. She gained the power that was virtually pulverized in the split between Steen and Nordli. Were she not prime minister and party chairman, she was party chairman and parliamentary group leader. As you know, the struggle within the Christian People's Party over coalition government participation led to the fall of Kristiansen, whereupon Bondevik continued the course mapped out by Kristiansen, which led the party into the Willoch government.

### Liberal Party's Fate

During the EC debate, the Liberal Party attempted to bridge its political differences by dividing the top party positions among the various party factions. This had to end in disaster. (Today's Gallup/NOI poll can hardly be a comfort to what is left of the once impressive party.)

In the light of other parties' experiences, it is nothing short of amazing that the Conservative Party can live with the division of power and responsibility without a sign of either political or personal discord at the top. This is to the party leaders' credit, but it also illustrates that the party chose the right strategy during last fall's political ordeal. It is, indeed, a united party leadership that now takes the consequences of the failure to bring about Conservative voters' much hoped for change of government last fall.

### Upheaval

However, had the party followed the advice of more vociferous than reflective peripheral voices, the result would have been upheaval. As it is, today's situation is hardly pleasant for either Presthus or Syse. But compared to a situation in which Presthus would sit as the administrator of confusing policies, like those of the Labor Party, and with Syse a steadfast defender of same in Parliament, today's problems should be much preferred.

For the time being, Conservative Party problems do not go beyond the ability to prove that top party positions may well be divided among several persons as long as they stand united on

the policies that represent the party. In this respect, the Conservative Party is as firm as Norwegian bedrock. The Conservative Party is unique on the Norwegian political scene. Probably no other party could have endured this kind of strain.

#### How Long

The question is how long can Presthus remain a prime ministerial candidate not knowing whether he will ever occupy the position? Much can happen quickly, but much can also go wrong in this turbulent political situation. It is vitally important that Presthus act with authority and take charge of the negotiations necessary to provide the basis for a new government. The Conservative Party stands united behind him. But it is up to him to lay the foundation for negotiations with the Christian People's Party and the Center Party. In short, he must convey the authority that will force them to accept him as the unifying nonsocialist leader, as Norway's next prime minister. Otherwise, he could become the outstanding prime minister we never got.

8952

CSO: 3639/6

## CONSERVATIVE PARTY COMMITTEE SEES NEED TO SHARPEN PROFILE

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 7 Jan 87 p 4

[Article by Thorleif Andreassen: "Conservatives Intend to Sharpen Profile"]

[Text] The Conservatives aim to sharpen their profile. The party wants to profile itself as a general alternative to the present government's policies. According to what AFTENPOSTEN has learned, there was broad agreement on this at a lengthy Conservative Party committee meeting yesterday to discuss the party's future strategy. The discussions, however, included proper consideration for the party's former government partners.

The Conservative Party will actively work to provide the political base necessary to establish a new Norwegian government as soon as possible. Based on our understanding, there was broad agreement within the committee that this must be done through contact and negotiations with the Christian People's Party and the Center Party.

Within Conservative circles, no secret is made of the fact that they expect economic developments to show that the Conservative Party submitted the best national budget proposal. Hence, Conservative politicians both hope and believe this means that the middle parties will be leaning toward the Conservative Party with respect to economic issues.

## Mesnalien

The Conservative Party considers the Mesnalien issue to be important--not least in principal connection with the idea of rethinking and reorganizing the health sector. The party stands firmly by its earlier promises concerning private hospitals and is prepared to take the eventual parliamentary consequences thereof.

Shortly, the Conservative Party is expected to submit a health policy report. Party officials are anxiously looking forward to



discuss problem areas presented in this report. The report refers to a market analysis which suggests that public opinion is open to reorganizing and rethinking the health care system. The committee points out that the poll suggests this is necessary in order to improve the health care system.

National party-congress matters are expected to influence the Conservative Party's work in the near future. Which main issue or issues will be profiled in particular has not yet been decided. However, three main areas stand out, namely health, education and district policies.

8952

CSO: 3639/6

POLITICAL

NORWAY

LABOR PARTY YOUTH GROUP SURPASSES CONSERVATIVES' IN MEMBERSHIP

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 31 Dec 86 p 10

[Article by Einar Solvoll: "AUF Has Largest Membership"]

[Text] The Labor Party Youth organization (AUF) has surpassed Conservative Party Youth as the largest political youth organization in this country, at least according to data used by the Ministry of Culture's Youth and Athletic Department as a basis for allocating funds in 1987.

The criteria used is that all confirmed members must be under 25 years of age and have paid their membership dues. The data used is the number of bona fide members at the end of 1986.

Government funds will be granted on the basis of 14,829 bona fide AUF members, while Conservative Party Youth only numbers 12,714 members. The third largest youth organization is actually the Progressive Party Youth with 4,128 members. Center Party Youth is the fourth largest with 3,157 members and Christian People's Party Youth fifth numbering 2,509 paying members. The Liberal Party Youth organization has 2,354 members and Communist Youth 1,702.

AUF Secretary Stale Dokken commented he was very pleased that they had surpassed Conservative Party Youth in terms of members. "Conservative Youth membership has declined in the last few years, while AUF has steadily gained new members. Conservative Party Youth lost 1,648 members since the end of 1985."

8952

CSO: 3639/6

## BORDER PROBLEMS WITH SYRIA PERSIST

## Syria Claims Turkish Provinces

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 10 Nov 86 p 13

[Text] Syrian leaders, who for years have tried to show Hatay within their own borders, are now trying to indoctrinate young minds in elementary schools with the idea that "southern and southeastern Anatolia are part of Syria."

As a result, a geography textbook entitled "Country of Damascus," which is the required text for the 5th grade in elementary schools, contains maps which show Turkish cities such as Mersin, Adana, Gaziantep, Sanliurfa, Diyarbakir, Mardin, Kahramanmaras and Cizre and their environs as being "Syrian lands occupied by Turkey." The said book insists that the Taurus Mountains form Syria's northern border, that the rivers of Asi, Ceyhan, Tigris and Euphrates are Syrian waterways and that the gulfs of Mersin and Iskenderun are Syrian waters. The book's chapter on Syrian plains says that the Amik Plain and the Amanos Mountains belong to Syria.

300,000 Copies

The 5th grade geography textbook that contains ridiculous claims about Turkey's southern and southeastern provinces was written by a council composed of Mustafa Hacı Ibrahim, Muhammed Hayr, Hayam Humusi, Abdulkerim Mahalmi, Vecih El Haymi and Hesiye Terzi and was edited by an individual named Besam Isa. The 208-page book which has been printed in 300,000 copies by the printing house Darul Fursan for the academic year 1984-1985 states that "printing rights are reserved by the Ministry of Education of the Syrian Arab Republic."

The book consists of four chapters: Geographical Divisions and Concepts, Coasts and Plains, Mountainous Areas, and Interior Areas.

In Map No. 5 in the Greater Arab Homeland section of the first chapter, the Gulf of Mersin, Mersin, Adana, Gaziantep, Sanliurfa, Diyarbakir, Mardin, Kahramanmaras and Cizre are shown as Arab lands and are described as "Arab lands under Turkish occupation." In a discussion about the "Arab Empire" which extends as far west as the Atlantic Ocean, the following views are expressed:

"These lands belong to the Arabs. They are the Arabs' homeland. These lands were occupied by the French and the British after 400 years of Ottoman domination. Following resistance by the Arabs, these powers withdrew from these areas. However, the northern part of the country remains under Turkish occupation." (Page 38, Map No. 11) The same claims are reiterated on page 37.

The same issue is discussed in a reading piece on page 49 of the book. In "exercises" on page 46 of the "Country of Damascus" the following questions are addressed to the student:

1. a) Where is Syria with respect to Turkey?
- b) In what part of Syria is the province of Iskenderun?

Exercises on page 39 contain the following question:

Question 4. Which country is currently occupying our lands? (See Map No. 12)

Geography or History?

The textbook "Country of Damascus" which is supposed to be a geography text contains a paragraph about "methods needed to break the Turkish occupation" and advises 5th grade children:

"We must establish Arab unity by joining our forces. This can only be accomplished with the resolve to protect and to liberate Arab lands wherever they may be."

[Box, p 13] After the Turkish Republic was established in 1923, the third most important problem the republican government had to deal with was the determination of the future of the Hatay region following the ending of the French mandate over Syria. A large Turkish majority lived in the area and enjoyed various cultural privileges under French rule. It was natural to expect that when Syria became independent, these cultural privileges enjoyed by the Turkish community would be revoked. Ankara took the issue to international forums. Meanwhile, direct talks with the French were initiated in Antakya on 11 June 1938. At the conclusion of these talks, Turkey signed an agreement on 4 July declaring that it had no territorial claims over Hatay. In return, France acknowledged that Hatay had a special status. An independent Republic of Hatay was set up. An agreement reached with France on 23 June 1939 ceded Hatay to Turkey. Law No. 3711 dated 7 July 1939 created the new province of "Hatay."

#### Neighboring Syrian Governors Visit

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 10 Nov 86 p 13

[Text] Mardin--While geography textbooks in Syrian schools promote some of our provinces as Syrian territory, two Syrian governors have paid consecutive good will visits to Turkey.

First, Aziz Shakir, the governor of Latakia, came to Gaziantep and discussed border problems with Gaziantep Governor Abdulkadir Aksu, thus making a friendly impression. A few days later, Haseke Governor Miro visited Mardin. The Syrian governor had an uninterrupted 5-hour meeting with Mardin Governor Alaattin Turan. During the meeting, Turan expressed to his Syrian counterpart the Turkish government's insistence on the closure of the four PKK [Kurdistan Workers' Party] camps in the border region.

Governor Miro promised that he will convey to Syrian President Hafiz al-Assad all the views expressed to him during the meeting. He also conveyed to the governor of Mardin, President Al-Assad's wishes of friendship, affection and good will to Turkish government officials and the Turkish people.

The commander of the gendarme unit of Nusaybin demanded that livestock come no nearer than 10 kilometers to the Syrian border. The commander, Major Omer Atalay, who discussed security issues with village heads, said that everyone has major obligations with regard to the maintenance of security in Nusaybin and affiliated villages. He added: "The village heads have bigger obligations. You are fulfilling your obligations. However, livestock owners need to be warned once again. Laws prohibiting livestock from entering a 10-kilometer-wide zone around the border strip must be complied with."

#### Camouflaging Mardin Radar

The radar at Mardin, which was attacked by terrorists carrying rocket launchers some time ago, is being painted commando green which is the color of the mountains. Officials did not comment on the issue.

9588

CSO: 3554/107

## KIRKUK AS CATALYST IN MIDDLE EAST CONFIGURATION

## Impact of Speculative Kirkuk Fall

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 10 Nov 86 p 9

["In the Eyes of an Historian" column by Yilmaz Oztuna: "The Middle East Cauldron"]

[Text] American foreign policy has never been perfect. It has never attained the level of the highly sharpened foreign policies of, say, Britain or Russia. This is partly because the United States has only recently begun to open up to the world and to move out of its continent. Another reason concerns the peculiarities of American democracy.

Since the 1940's Washington has erred repeatedly and has lost many territories to the Soviets. It has engaged in historically unprecedented acts such as imposing embargoes on its allies.

New difficulties may be expected to emerge in Turkish-American relations in the aftermath of the latest elections in the United States. Greek and Armenian-Americans who appear to be more loyal to Athens and Yerevan than to Washington have captured advantageous seats. We shall see what they will do.

In the Middle East, the United States has been collaborating with Israel. Beside Egypt, Arab monarchies such as Saudi Arabia have been pursuing a pro-Western policy. However, they cannot endorse a fully pro-Western policy because of the Palestinian problem.

However, all these countries are protected by the Turkish rampart to their north. This mighty umbrella protects them from communist aggression. Even so, as in the West, anti-Ottoman sentiments have not been completely obliterated in the Islamic world.

Although they have tried to conceal it with great dexterity, the Arabs, like the Westerners, cannot forget the Pax Ottomana the Ottomans had established all over the Middle East in an area to the west of the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf and encompassing the Balkans.

The Arab monarchies on the shores of the Persian Gulf are tired of supporting Iraq with their money. That assistance has reached tens of billions of dollars. However, they are even more concerned about an Iranian victory.

That is because Iran wants to change the general order. It is collaborating with Syria which is ruled by Shiites. Syria is backed by the Soviet Union. All of these countries are opposed to monarchies. They want to establish socialist people's republics and activist Shiite governments.

Iran's encroachment toward Kirkuk and Turkish territory and its collaboration with Kurds in that area are aggravating the crisis. The declaration of Turkish territory as Kurdish by the speaker of Iran's Majlis--possibly out of ignorance--indicates that Iran wants to set up a puppet Kurdish state in that region.

The United States wants to use Turkey's name and if possible the Turkish army. However, like the rest of the world it does not want to have a Turkey so powerful as to bring back memories of the Ottoman Empire. It thus is forcing Turkey into impasses on many issues in order to coerce it to adopt a certain policy.

The most sensitive aspect of the issue is Ankara's inability to say: "The Kirkuk problem does not concern us." Because Turkey abandoned that area--which was included in the National Pact [of 1920--to Iraq as a result of British intrigues. Ankara naturally has the first say over the transfer of that region to another power.

As a result, not only the Soviet Union, Iran and [Kurdish leader] Barzani, but the United States, Iraq and the Arab monarchies must think about Turkey's reaction in the event of a crisis over Kirkuk. If Ankara says "since Kirkuk is outside my border, I do not care about which state it belongs to," Turkey will be declared an inconsequential power and will be treated as such. If it takes a contrary approach, on the other hand, it has to take certain risks.

#### Middle East's World Role

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 10 Nov 86 p 13

[Text] Ankara--The mounting tension in the Middle East in recent days will be discussed by the TGNA's Planning and Budget Commission in connection with the draft 1987 budget of the Ministry of National Defense.

The opposition is expected to pressure the government to state Turkey's stand with regard to the Iran-Iraq war, the arming of Syria and prospective developments. The commission is also expected to discuss the intensified air traffic at the NATO base in Incirlik following reports that the United States would intervene in Syria. Minister of National Defense Zeki Yavuzturk's statements [before the commission] today are also significant from a standpoint of our national security policy.

Kamran Inan, independent deputy from Bitlis, stated that the Middle East continues to be the hottest region in the world and said: "There are very strong indications that there are plans to reshape the Middle East." Inan said that the Vladivostok summit between the United States and the Soviet Union in early 1970 [as published] has often been termed as the "Yalta for the Middle East" which means the partition of the region.

In a statement to MILLIYET, Inan said that issues such as the rearrangement of the balance of power in the Middle East and the redrawing of political geography come to mind. He noted that "former U.S. President Carter's national security advisor, Brzezinski had a theory about a crescent of crisis encompassing the Middle East." Inan also said that after the Vladivostok summit the Warsaw Pact began talking about an Adis Ababa-Kabul-Ankara triangle.

Inan stated that Turkey must carefully monitor developments in the Middle East which he described as "highly explosive." Inan noted that the Iran-Iraq war is now in its 7th year, that there are disputes among the region's Arab countries, that the Arab-Israeli conflict is continuing, that the outside world has interests in the region because of the presence of oil and that all these factors have turned the area into a powder keg that may explode at any minute.

Inan noted that Iran recently acquired high-technology weaponry, that its population is far greater than Iraq's, that it is motivated by a religious faith and that in the meantime Iraq has developed weaknesses. Inan added that Arab countries, which have so far sent to Iraq \$50 billion in aid, have reduced their assistance to Iraq because of their declining oil revenues, that Iraqi troops are tired and that this situation has created weaknesses.

#### Kirkuk Issue

Stating that Turkey cannot remain indifferent if Iran decides to expand the battlefield northward and occupies Kirkuk, Inan said:

"About 40 percent of the oil we need comes through the pipeline that runs to Yumurtalik. Turkey would face economic problems if that pipeline is cut. That would also mean the cutting of one of Iraq's lifelines and the elimination of fairly substantial revenues for Turkey's budget coming from rent paid for that pipeline. Turkey has interests in Kirkuk. Consequently, Turkey cannot be disregarded in this matter."

Stating that the occupation of Kirkuk would also alter regional balances, Inan said:

"If Iraq is defeated, the formation of a Syrian-Iranian axis would alter all balances in the Middle East. Such a development would reshape Turkey's security. Syria has been armed beyond what it needs. With a population of 11 million, it has a standing army of 40,000 men, a defense budget of \$3.5 billion, over 800 warplanes and more than 4,100 tanks, of which 1,100 are



latest model T-72s. It also has surface-to-air and surface-to-surface missiles--including SS-21s--with nuclear warheads. It has become an arsenal of weapons."

Inan stated that in the last 6 months there have been persistent rumors in the West about a new Israeli-Syrian war, that the United States has declared that it will not remain passive in the event of such a war and that it will ask for assistance from its allies, in particular from Turkey because it is a regional power. Stating that we must be very careful about solidarity with our allies in areas outside the borders of NATO, Inan said: "During the Cyprus crisis of 1963, President Johnson reminded us of NATO's boundaries on the basis legal facts. Now the situation has been reversed. Turkey must act as a friend and ally to the extent that it will not have to refer to this situation."

9588

CSO: 3554/105

## DISARRAY IN SDPP ATTRIBUTED TO DISPERSAL OF CHAIRMAN'S POWER

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 5 Nov 86 p 6

[Interview with Ismail Cem, member of the Central Decision and Administrative Council of SDPP, by correspondent Fusun Ozbilgen; date and place not given]

[Text] Debates and quests for solutions within the Social Democratic Populist Party [SDPP] have intensified as the party's miniconvention looms closer. We had an interview against this background with Ismail Cem, a member of SDPP's Central Decision and Administrative Council [CDAC]. Cem believes that the SDPP must call an emergency grand convention without delay in view of its defeat in the by-elections and that the party must renew itself and its cadres at that convention. Cem also recommends that the scheduled conventions on party program and bylaws must act within the framework to be set by the emergency convention. In response to a question about how much party leader Erdal Inonu was responsible for the party's election defeat, Cem said: "In an election defeat, everyone's share of responsibility is proportional to the seniority of his office." When asked whether he sees any benefit in the replacement of the party's leader, Cem replied: "I see the issue as a renewal of the office of the party leader." When we queried Cem about who could replace Erdal Inonu, he said: "We have among us not one or two but at least eight or ten experienced and capable individuals who can become serious contenders." Responding to a question with regard to his own candidacy for the position of party leader, Cem said: "This is something that the organization will determine when a convention meets."

Our conversation with Ismail Cem was as follows:

[Question] For how long have you been part of the social democratic movement? Since when have you been a party worker? What party offices have you served in?

Cem: As a writer and journalist, I have been trying to contribute to the social democratic movement with books and articles for nearly 25 years--since 1963. I served as the leader of the Turkish Journalists' Union. I served as the Director General of the Turkish Radio and TV Administration. In terms of party activities, I started party work in 1959 as the leader of the youth organization of the Tesvikiye branch of the Republican People's Party [RPP]. I was also a member of the RPP between 1977 and 1980. As a very active member of the RPP in Kadikoy and Istanbul, I organized seminars and educational work.

I joined the Populist Party just one day before it merged with the Social Democracy Party. I was subsequently elected to the CDAC [of the SDPP]. In the first emergency convention, I was reelected to the CDAC. My work in the CDAC has continued since then.

[Question] What is your evaluation of the SDPP's election defeat? As a party administrator do you share the blame for the defeat?

Cem: The image we projected on the people and the message we conveyed to them was not well received. I can see that clearly. The people obviously did not like us. There are various reasons for that. We must first look for our own faults. We must not look for faults in the wrong places. We are now saying, for example, that we said the same things as the Correct Way Party [CWP]. If we said the same things as the CWP, then the situation is self-explanatory; the people would naturally not vote for us. We could not formulate and convey to the people in strong terms a message that was our own. This, in my opinion, is the first cause. Secondly, when people look at a party they look at the symbols the party puts before them. If the people are not reassured adequately they do not do anything; they do not make a special effort. The left's share of 30 percent of the vote is the aggregate of 100 years of work by democrats, progressives, Ataturkists and leftists in Turkey. The two leftist parties failed to contribute to this aggregate in the last election.

[Question] Did you put forward any proposals to resolve the problem?

Cem: I am among those who have expressed their thoughts orally and in writing most frequently. I did not stop there. I expressed my views at several party meetings and conventions and in Anatolia. Moreover, I conveyed my views to the organization by writing to members of the party. I stated my thoughts in terms of what needs to be done and not in the form of criticizing what has been done.

[Question] What should have been done?

Cem: Firstly, harmony and a dialog should have been maintained between the party's administration and its organization. We were very late in doing that. I suggested this a long time ago. I did that first by consulting with the organization. It was approved by the CDAC. However, it took a long time before it was put into effect. Today, everyone is complaining about these shortcomings; they are saying that the views of the organization, that is the views of the party members and branches, do not reach the central administration, that the central administration is not implementing them and that this has resulted in a state of disjunction. Disjunction is one of our biggest problems.

We have the manpower. We have members, parliamentary deputies, CDAC members, provincial leaders and organizations. But we do not know how to utilize them. I put forward many proposals to utilize these people productively within the realities of Turkey and politics. My proposals were received with approval. However, it took too long before they were implemented.

[Question] What can be done now?

Cem: What a serious party should do is to call an emergency convention immediately and to account for its actions before an emergency convention. As party administrators, we are obligated to account for our actions. I do not understand why we are trying to avoid that. Because a serious administrative system must account for its actions to those who elected it after such disappointing election results and what we have experienced in the days after the election. That is how a party is run, and for some reason we do not want to take that course. We need to account for our actions, to reelect the administrative organs, to renew ourselves, to regain our strength and to reembark on our struggle. At the moment, we are not moving in that direction for one or another reason. As we persist in not moving in that direction the situation is not improving. I put forward my proposal for an emergency convention on 2 October. The time that has elapsed since 2 October has confirmed that my concerns were justified.

If an opposition party cannot reform itself seriously after a major defeat it cannot hope to recover. I believe that we have not done what we need to do to stop this decline, and I am concerned about that.

[Question] We all watched the grand convention that was held some time ago. Individual and election-oriented lobbying and debates were held in hotel lobbies. However, no serious issues were discussed or decided upon in the general assembly hall. What difference will an emergency convention make? What will such a convention resolve?

Cem: In certain situations one must look at basic realities. Nothing can negate reality.

If, with our present problems, we hold an unproductive convention like the one you describe, then we will obviously lose our cause. However, I believe that if we hold an emergency convention today, everyone will approach the issues seriously and will take steps to counteract the peril of decline facing our party.

I also believe in the following: We are people who have struggled in Turkey within the framework of social democratic thought. Some of us have been waging this struggle for 25 years, others for 10 years and others for 30 or 40 years. Today we are weakening this struggle with our own mistakes. The results of the latest election indicate that if a general election had been held in the 11 electoral districts where the by-elections were held we would have been able to win parliamentary seats in only three provinces. If we generalize that result to the entire country, in 1988 we cannot win assembly seats in more than 25 provinces. We do not have the right to put the party in that position nor do we have the right to remain indifferent to this situation. I see this as a self-destruction of the left. If this pattern continues here is what will happen: We will have a left divided into two parties which claim to be social democratic and which differ from each other by 3 to 5 percent of the vote. I foresee two sterile parties which can win a total of 30 percent of the vote and which can have 20 to 25 assembly seats each. I am saying that we have no right to do that. We have no right to do

that as a party. We have no right to do that as people who have struggled to modernize and democratize Turkey. We have no right to nullify our past work and our past. We have no right to do that to those who believe in us. I believe that the only solution is a renewal of the party and its image and message. That is the only way we can change this unfavorable course. A party convention can do that. If we have no confidence in the convention then that means that we have no confidence in the party. The convention is the principal grass-roots organ of the party. If we say, "this convention does not know and cannot do anything" then that means that we have no confidence in the party itself. And if we have no confidence in the party we cannot engage in politics.

[Question] The views that will be discussed in the convention are generally reported in the press, and it is seen that no new ideas are being discussed. It seems that that is where the problems are stemming from.

Cem: Our people have a very strong common sense. Our party also has a very strong common sense. That is why it is obvious that it cannot go on like this any longer. In other words, the members of the party would not allow an unproductive convention like the one you have described. But if you insist that the nothing will happen and nothing sensible will be discussed at the convention, that would mean that there is no confidence in the party, and I do not agree with that. I believe that if correct messages are conveyed to our people and if the problems are debated openly and courageously then our party will be able to grow rapidly. That is the result we expect to get from the emergency convention.

If we do not have that courage, then time will be wasted with stories of factionalism and accusations that have been featured in the newspapers. If that happens then Turkey will have been abandoned to two sterile leftist parties, and we have no right to do that.

[Question] How can you be so sure that certain ideas will be discussed and that certain views will be endorsed at the convention? Turkey has a press, and certain issues are openly debated in the press. Different views and arguments have been openly expressed in the press, but everything we have seen in the press concerns cliquish considerations, who was elected, who did what and personal interests. There is not the slightest evidence that anything other than these will happen at the convention. Had there been disputes over ideas and differences of views, one could say, "let us hold a convention so that the party's delegates can come to a decision over these issues." But one cannot see any well-developed ideas or debates over the election defeat. One feels that the party has been buried for dead.

Cem: In such an emergency convention, all of us, including the entire party administration, must explain the causes of the election defeat. Everyone must engage in self-criticism, and we must hear the views of those who have elected us.

Secondly, there is the program convention. We are all working together for the program convention. However, at least the main features of this work must be discussed at the emergency convention. Colleagues who intend to run for

office in the party must stand up and state clearly how they view Turkey and what message they want to convey to Turkey. If these matters are not discussed, an emergency convention would not yield any results.

I am also talking about a renewal--a rejuvenation. A renewal may help to us to view issues more rationally. People who have accounted for the by-elections to the party and who are newly elected or reelected by the emergency convention may create opportunities for renewal. Such a convention and renewal may, for example, open new rational channels of dialog with regard to the issue of unifying the social democratic left. Such changes would not just open rational channels of dialog within the social democratic left. They would also rejuvenate the channels of dialog with the large masses which think they sympathize with the right and vote for the right--masses which really belong to the left by virtue of their socioeconomic status and which vote for other parties for one reason or another. These two goals--first, the opening of rational channels of dialog aimed at the unification of the social democratic left and, second, the opening of channels of dialog with masses who vote for the right but who belong to the left because of their socioeconomic status--are the keys to a social democratic government. A renewal to be brought about by an emergency convention may contribute significantly to the opening of these channels.

Meanwhile, we are constantly complaining about impasses and the lack of options for the left. The truth is that we have not yet decided how--or by what methods--the solutions and the options should be formulated. Those who will govern this party must think and talk about these issues. An emergency convention would also facilitate this discussion. We must not forget that the solutions for the left will not descend from the heavens. Nor will a few of our academic colleagues come together and find a solution. This is a question of method, experience and organization. A renewal would facilitate a more healthy organization.

[Question] As a journalist who has covered your party's activities for many years, I think that when this conversation of ours is published in our paper, certain circles in your party will say: "Deniz Baykal came out and expressed his views. He is a candidate for the position of secretary general at the party's convention in November 1987. Ismail Cem now wants an early convention in order to block his election--so that Baykal cannot participate in the convention as a candidate for a party administrative position. Cem wants an early convention in order to stop Baykal." Would you not agree that this is how this interview will be interpreted?

Cem: First of all, I believe that the party's rank and file knows me well enough not to think that way. They know me as a party administrator as well as a person who has written articles and books on this issue for 23 years. In this party, we do not permit anyone to block anyone else. In any case, no one has the strength to do that. Moreover, this is not the first time I am calling for an emergency convention, nor am I proposing it in response to certain statements. I put forward this same proposal 1 month ago to the CDAC. If I have motives to achieve certain goals, I would not feel the need to "block" others. I can accomplish what I want with my own abilities.

In addition, if we hold an emergency convention with an election of party officers, I think that there will be numerous candidates at every level. In other words, we have the manpower. The social democrats can field capable, strong and ambitious candidates at every level, including the position of party leader. I am certain of that. An emergency convention would also preclude another debate in the party. These days some of our colleagues are saying: "Let us hold our convention in November. Let us postpone it to November 1987 so that those who are banned now can also participate." Other colleagues are saying: "No. This party cannot go on like this for another year. Let us at least hold our convention at the time it is scheduled, that is in the spring. Let us recover and let us also prepare ourselves for the possibility of an early general election." I think that all of our colleagues are putting forward these proposals with good intentions and for the welfare of the party. My proposal is as follows: If we hold the emergency convention immediately, then there would be no reasonable objection to holding the regular convention in November. That way we would elect our cadres now. These would be new or reelected cadres. That way they can carry the party for 1 year. Then in November a new administration can be elected in a regular convention in which those who are banned now can participate.

The emergency convention is a solution which facilitates the holding of the regular convention in November and which increases the chances of those who are banned now. Needless to say, the bans are the most unjust bans in the world, but I think that it would be extremely dangerous to go on for a whole year without debating the party's election defeat in a convention simply in order to wait for the bans to be lifted. If the decline that has begun continues for a long time, we may have lost the battle by November 1987 even if we elect the best cadres, the best party leader and the best secretary general at that time.

What I mean by losing the battle is the prospect of two small parties sharing 30 percent of the vote. The moment we fall into that situation, the matter would be closed, and the defense of the cause of the masses in Turkey would suffer a major setback. I am insisting on an emergency convention because we have no right to do that. The miniconvention we will convene this weekend may pave the way for an emergency convention.

[Question] Some cadres may be replaced in an emergency convention which can hold elections. Is the leader of the party included in these cadres? Does Erdal Inonu have a large share of responsibility in the election defeat?

Cem: A serious party views its election defeat as follows: In an election defeat, everyone's share of responsibility is proportional to the seniority of his office. As a member of the CDAC, my share of responsibility is greater than that of a provincial leader. The share of responsibility of someone more senior than myself is greater than my own. That is how the issue must be viewed. Secondly, it is possible that all the present cadres may be reelected at an emergency convention. If they are, then they can set to work with renewed confidence and a new beginning. Alternately, the cadres may be replaced. That would not be the end of the world. On the contrary, it may be an expression of renewal and rejuvenation. Consequently, I do not see anything to be afraid of in such a move. What we need to fear is the prospect

of leaving things as they are with a mentality of "such things happen," starting certain grievances among ourselves and seeing our image shaken before the public as well as the decline of confidence in our party.

We are not going to reinvent politics in Turkey. Every serious party holds a convention after a major defeat. As you know, we declared before the election that we would consider anything less than 35 percent of the vote as a major defeat. We talked about teaching a lesson to the government. If we continue on the same course after having said these and suffering such a defeat, it will be very difficult to reverse the pattern of decline. I believe that a renewal would be beneficial in every respect. We can stand up and account for actions, then we can join hands and support our colleagues elected to party offices.

[Question] Do you think it would be beneficial if the party leader was replaced?

Cem: Let me put it this way: I am not raising an issue concerning the replacement of the party leader. I see the issue as a renewal of the "office" of the party leader. The reformed office of leadership may be occupied by the incumbent or brand new people. That, in my opinion, is of secondary importance. What is important is to go before the convention and to run for election. This time, colleagues who want to run as candidates must explain to us how they view the issues and what solutions they propose. Perhaps that was the major flaw of the type of convention you criticized a few minutes ago. In a sense, that was perhaps the result of having an "uncompetitive convention." In a serious leftist party, those who want to hold office must state openly and in advance what they will do and how they will do it.

[Question] Something came to my mind while you were talking. In the SDPP, the alternative to Erdal Inonu is Aydin Guven Gurkan. In Turkey, we do not have too many candidates for the leadership of a social democratic party. For example, are you planning to run as a candidate if such a convention is convened?

Cem: This is something that the organization will determine when a convention environment is established. The organization fields the candidates. Let me say this: We have among us not one or two but eight or ten experienced and capable people who can become serious contenders in such a race. I do not think that we would have a shortage of candidates.

[Question] A shortage of candidates and running as a candidate are two different things.

Cem: As it is, we do not have a convention environment. The issue of candidacy will be clarified if and when a decision is made to hold a convention and when we get closer to the convention date. It is my belief that in our party there are more than two or three serious and capable contenders who can perform this function and that some of these individuals would certainly announce their candidacy--as long as we play by the rules of the game. At the stage Turkey has reached, at the stage the left has reached and in the light of our long experience we have no right to conduct such



affairs in a way that contravenes the rules of politics. Politics is a serious business. In the Turkey of the last half of the 1980's you can win the confidence of the people only if you play politics seriously and by its rules.

[Question] If the SDPP has such well-developed and distinguished cadres why is it in this condition? Are there sufficient cadres? If there are why could they not deliver? In other words, why could they not produce something? The question applies to both the CDAC and the party leadership.

Cem: That should partly be attributed to the fact that our party is still in its formative stage. We still have not been able to build our organizations. If we cannot realize a serious renewal in the aftermath of the by-elections, I am afraid that we will never be able to do it. If we insist on maintaining an image of holding 23 percent of the vote, our candidacy for government will be replaced with a "candidacy for the main opposition." We are right and we are strong, but I think that the only way to exert our strength is to have a radical renewal.

I would also like to say this: In the presence of a series of unfavorable news and developments, some things are being overlooked. We do not have to abandon Turkey to two identical unhealthy rightist mentalities, one based on political opportunism and the other on economical opportunism. We have the strength to offer to society many things that help the general welfare of the people. However, that needs to be organized; we must embark on this task with a new image and a new message. I do not think that can be accomplished with the images of the past. As Turkey's left we have a lot to say to the people and there is a lot that we can do.

[Question] Then why is not anyone saying them?

Cem: People must be seriously organized to be able to say them. We must be able to use every one of our members, to develop solutions through organization and to tell the people about them. We have not been able to do that. We continue our past practices of saying "I will do this" "I will do that" without stating how we will do them. Moreover, we sometimes misstate the things we say we will do.

[Question] Is the problem caused by a lack of organization or a lack of ideas? The general criticism leveled against social democrats is that they are not offering new solutions. This is true not just in Turkey but everywhere in the world. It is said that the left is unable to renew itself and to generate new policies in the developing conditions of the world and particularly in Turkey.

Cem: Many people, myself included, have put forward ideas and views on these issues. What is important is not what is said individually. These things must be said by the party within an organized structure. For example, we have a problem of unemployment. After stating candidly that the problem of unemployment cannot be eliminated in a day, there are things that can be done. I have put forward certain proposals on this issue. However, politics is not an individual but a collective activity. The statement of truths by individuals is not enough. For example, we must look at agricultural policy

as a source of unemployment. Agriculture is the main source of unemployment. Because as agriculture is modernized, there is less demand for labor, and the excess manpower is forced into the cities. This cannot be stopped over a short period of time. We can take a different approach to agriculture and we can prevent it from producing unemployed workers; we would not be the first in the world to take such an approach. Various measures have been taken in different countries to make family farming businesses productive. Thanks to new technologies family farming businesses have begun to become productive in all parts of the globe. Our party must discuss these issues and proposals.

[Question] One last question: If an emergency convention is held as you propose and a renewal is achieved, do you think there may be new developments with regard to a rapprochement with the Democratic Left Party [DLP].

Cem: I would like to state the following with regard to the benefits and necessity of a renewal that may be brought about by an emergency convention: The division of the social democratic left is a serious problem. I believe that an administration renewed by the convention will be in a better position to open rational channels of dialog to achieve the unification of the social democratic left. I think that a convention and a renewal will be able to open more rational channels of dialog to redress the artificial divisions among social democrats. Moreover, such a rejuvenated party structure can establish a dialog more easily with the masses which have voted for rightist parties but which belong to the left by virtue of their socioeconomic status. Such a structure would find it easier to open up to these masses and to make itself more naturally attractive.

[Question] Bulent Ecevit is seen as a natural leader for the DLP. It is also clear that Ecevit is not very close to the upper echelons of the old cadres which are now mostly in the SDPP. Do you think that despite this factor a renewal in the SDPP can open these channels?

Cem: We have certain obligations with respect to the left and our people. No one can shirk these responsibilities. If we are faced with the peril of leaving Turkey with two leftist parties having 20 to 25 assembly seats each, we cannot deny our own responsibility in that. We are obligated to formulate solutions and approaches on this issue. This is a matter of faith. Moreover, with a rejuvenated administration which has been recharged by the organization we can start a dialog with the DLP within the framework of discussing certain issues, if not for the purpose of merging or unifying the left. Everything begins with talking. The DLP and the SDPP may raise issues which concern the left and Turkey, such as unemployment, at joint platforms. Such a platform of debate may be started among all elements of the social democratic movement including the DLP and the SDPP. I believe that a self-renewed SDPP can accomplish that.

I have faith in my nation and my party. I see the problems we are encountering as the unavoidable diseases of childhood. These are temporary problems. We will overcome them through collaboration and unity.

## RESULTS OF SDPP MINICONVENTION

## Nine Major Points

Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 10 Nov 86 p 14

[Text] Ankara--Everything was discussed on the second day of the SDPP [Social Democratic Populist Party] miniconvention. Sharp criticism was leveled against everyone from party leader Erdal Inonu, to Deniz Baykal, Aydin Guven Gurkan, parliamentary deputies, Bulent Ecevit of the DLP [Democratic Left Party] and the CWP [Correct Way Party].

At the SDPP miniconvention, which was not of interest to those under 5-year political bans--mainly Deniz Baykal and Ali Topuz--provincial leaders agreed that the grand convention be held on 7 November 1987 thus paving the way for the participation of the banned politicians. This was what Deniz Baykal had wanted.

Three assembly deputies and 15 provincial leaders spoke at the afternoon session of the SDPP miniconvention, which ended with a speech by Inonu yesterday. Reporters were not allowed to take pictures at the miniconvention which was held in an empty hall. TV cameramen were allowed to film the proceedings on condition that "they not record the empty chairs."

Erzan Erzurumoglu read a draft convention declaration on behalf of the commission which prepared the draft. However, assembly deputies Ibrahim Ural, Vecihi Atakli, Musa Ates, Omer Kushan and Arsan Savas Arpacioğlu and Central Decision and Administrative Council [CDAC] members Atila Sav and Turgut Atalay objected that the declaration is too long and demanded that it be written in more striking prose. The declaration will be rewritten and Inonu will read it at a press conference this morning.

## Ismail Cem's Speech

Journalist-writer Ismail Cem began his speech by saying: "Today I will not speak about good things." He continued:

"I will not speak about good things and friendship as my heart desires. I will probably make myself obnoxious. The picture that I see is this: Our party is experiencing a decline. It is not easy to reverse this trend and

turn it into a pattern of growth--particularly when this decline is happening to the opposition party. The right's opposition to the right can only be a sham. However, the people who are not satisfied with the government and who have not warmed up to the left see the solution in voting for the CWP. As a result, we took the third place in the by-elections. Rather than becoming a candidate for the government we retreated to the position of becoming a 'candidate for the main opposition.' This is an extremely grave development."

Noting that the SDPP is not the only leftist party which is seeking votes, Cem said: "We now have to compete even in our own world." Stating that the SDPP has not performed well in that race, Cem added:

"We have put on an extremely insidious image. One is confused whether this is a political party or a roadside motel. We must renew ourselves urgently in order to catch the train."

#### Voice of Baykal Group

Balikesir's provincial leader Onder Kirli, who is known to be a Baykalist, charged that "the left was subdued with military interventions." He added: "The press described the results of the by-elections as a rout. However, they exaggerated Demirel's success." Kirli continued:

"Ecevit took away some of SDPP's vote. As a party we have our faults. Mistakes were made and unprofessionalism was evident. It would be wrong to see ourselves as automatic candidates for the government. One learns swimming in the sea. The slogan of 'votes for the SDPP' on the assumption that we are the strongest leftist party was not well received. Why should the votes go to the SDPP? There are many who find the party's leader to be cautious as well as passive. The CWP acted more boldly. We cannot overcome the nation's depoliticization phase by acting cautiously. There are flaws in the strategy of 'votes for the SDPP.' We should have targeted not only Ozal but also the CWP. Now Demirel has risen as a savior."

Claiming that Bulent Ecevit leveled unfair accusations, Kirli said that the SDPP's silence influenced impartial voters.

#### Ecevit Criticized

Tekirdag provincial leader Gunes Gurseler criticized Bulent Ecevit and said: "Ecevit exploited emotions by saying 'Rahsan to the Assembly while I go to prison,' and engaged in religious exploitation like the rightist parties." Gurseler said that efforts are under way to make the party look as if it is moving toward the right and that the SDPP has failed to shed its image of factional bickering.

Tokat provincial leader Kenan Suzer said: "We have been holding this convention in the press, hotels and restaurants for the last 1 month. Efforts are continuing to make the party appear in disarray."

Huseyin Avni Guler, assembly deputy from Istanbul, responded to charges leveled against him to the effect that he has "demanded a security inquiry on party members." He said: "I walked out of the assembly when Celal Bayar entered the TGNA. When the president flatter the deputies in the assembly I protested it by not standing up. I always expressed my resentment against those who wanted to force us into the sidelines. Know me well."

The provincial leaders of Manisa, Kayseri, Icel, Denizli, Mugla, Kastamonu and Antalya submitted a signed joint petition to Inonu demanding that the party's grand convention be held on 7 November 1987--at which time the 5-year political bans will expire--and that their petition be voted upon. After reading the petition Inonu said that the miniconvention has only consultative powers, that it cannot take decisions and that consequently he will not put the petition to a vote. He said: "Our provincial leaders have expressed their views on this issue. This request will be evaluated by the CDAC."

Speaking later, Amasya deputy Kazim Ipek criticized the banned political leaders and said that it was these politicians who caused the 12 September operation and that they later ran away. He said: "These leaders have now become champions of democracy, and rescuing them has become our responsibility."

At the miniconvention, where Inonu primarily allowed the provincial leaders to speak, did not promise Mugla deputy Arif Toprak time to speak despite Toprak's insistence. Two days ago, Toprak walked up to the podium and argued with Inonu.

Malatya Deputy Ayhan Firat stated that criticisms will not yield any results and said: "Even if we know what the guilt is nobody would admit it. That is what we have seen here. Then who is to blame? If we go on like this we will be obliterated in the 1988 elections. We have not been able to come together and unite." After these speeches, Arif Toprak and Amasya Deputy Arsan Savas Arpacioğlu stood up occasionally and demanded to speak. While Inonu made no promises to Toprak he promised Arpacioğlu time to speak when Arpacioğlu said: "Are we going to be barred from expressing our views freely? Why are you not promising us time to speak?" Arpacioğlu came to the podium and said that the SDPP is being led by an elite and rooftop politicians and that nothing can be accomplished without changing that situation. Denizli Deputy Halil Ibrahim Sahin called for an immediate emergency convention and demanded that Inonu and members of the CDAC be put to a vote of confidence.

#### Inonu Speaks

In his closure speech, Inonu said that he was pleased with the evaluations, that the speeches enlightened him and that he will read the miniconvention declaration at a press conference he will hold today. Inonu said:

"The SDPP is not breaking apart; it is growing stronger every day. We will march toward final victory together. As long as you do not reject me as the party's leader I will not leave you. We are a party of faith. We cannot hold anyone in the party with harsh discipline, but I will enforce discipline."

## Results

The common views and criticisms voiced by SDPP provincial leaders, CDAC members and assembly deputies at the party's 2-day miniconvention can be enumerated as follows:

1. Nobody was spared from criticism. Party leader Inonu, assembly deputies, provincial leaders, CDAC members, party policies, cliques, Gurkan, the CWP, the DLP and Bulent Ecevit were all criticized.
2. The majority of the delegates at the miniconvention endorsed the proposal that the party's grand convention be held after 7 November 1987 when the 5-year political bans will expire.
3. Beginning with Inonu's opening speech, all provincial leaders agreed that the criticisms leveled by the DLP and the Ecevits deserve a harsh response.
4. It was demanded that the bickering between the CDAC and the SDPP's assembly group be ended.
5. It was demanded that intraparty disputes among various cliques be ended and that party secrets be withheld from the press.
6. It was demanded that day-to-day policies be developed.
7. The view that the party bylaws be changed, a powerful secretary general's office be established, the office of deputy leaders be eliminated and that the CDAC be divided into a central decision council and a central administrative council emerged as a commonly shared platform.
8. It was demanded that the issue of party leadership not be raised and that the party leader be kept outside debates.
9. All participants in the miniconvention demanded that the party program be given concrete form and definite solutions be proposed to the nation's problems.

## Major Settling of Accounts

When the miniconvention, which was described as a "forced meeting," ended yesterday evening, no group came out fully satisfied. Neither the administration, nor the provincial leaders, nor the assembly deputies nor the factions could agree that the "miniconvention produced the expected benefits." Although the "simmering" continues, the problems have been postponed for a certain period. No concrete compromises were reached over concrete common goals, thus leaving the "grand settling of accounts" to the grand convention.

## Impact on Domestic Politics

Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 10 Nov 86 p 14

["From Ankara" column by Ertugrul Ozkok: "Results of the Miniconvention"]

[Text] This miniconvention has a special significance in our political history. It was the first convention held after a by-election defeat which made a rightist-conservative party the alternative to another party of the same background for the first time since 1946 when we took our first steps toward multiparty democracy. The fact that the name of the convention was preceded by the prefix "mini" did not make it any less important.

However, when the convention ended yesterday evening it was hard to see whether the SDPP leaders were themselves aware of such an "historical responsibility." The miniconvention was nothing more than a "psychiatrist's recliner" where the causes of the SDPP's election defeat were sought outside the party.

Those who did and did not attend the miniconvention had above all a right to want to see a report analyzing the election results in a serious and objective manner. Instead, they had to suffice with a general speech by the party leader which did not satisfy many people.

There were not a few participants who thought that quests for leadership and a "powerful secretary general" were premature and unnecessary. Indeed there were indications at the miniconvention that these quests were formulated prematurely and slightly unprofessionally. Another issue raised during 2 days of debates sent many provincial leaders back to their home regions with the same question on their minds. Today, the SDPP faces the question of "being able to stand as a party" much more urgently than the problem of leadership. This problem manifests itself on the following points:

1. Inadequacy in the development of new policies: The party is unable to renew its program and to develop new policies. The 13 goals enumerated by Erdal Inonu in his opening speech contained nothing new; they were repetitions of the general goals declared before the elections. When one considers that today the SDPP has to battle the CWP in addition to the Motherland Party [MP], it becomes evident that it has to set more specific goals than the CWP on the issue of political bans and the strengthening of democratic institutions and that it has to be more explicit than the MP on the issue of economic goals. Without doing these it would be illusory in the eyes of many party members to expect better results in 1988 than in the by-elections.

2. Dichotomy between assembly group and administration: The miniconvention confirmed that the dichotomy between party's parliamentary group, which is primarily of Populist Party background, and its CDAC, which is primarily made up of Social Democratic Party members, has not yet been resolved. That also indicates that the merger between the Populist Party and the Social Democratic Party has not fully set.

3. Lack of integration with former Republican People's Party [RPP] members: While talking about the roots of the SDPP in his opening speech, Erdal Inonu complied with legal restrictions and referred to the RPP as a concept without mentioning its name. He enumerated the RPP's six foundation principles and said that the SDPP is based on those principles. Despite such remarks, however, one cannot say that the way the former RPP members view the SDPP has yet reached the desired level. This uneasiness manifests itself in the atmosphere of conventions.

Although the miniconvention did not bring about the needed openness with regard to the causes of the election results and future goals, it did result in a clarification of approaches to two other issues. The first of these was that the attitude toward the DLP will no longer be the former "soft and ambiguous style." Secondly, there were initial indications that the "gentlemen's agreement" reached with the CWP for the duration of the transition period will soon come to an end.

At this stage, the most salient conclusion that one may draw from the miniconvention is that the SDPP is in serious need for a self-renewal. While that may appear premature at this time, this need for self-renewal may in the future assume proportions which may engulf the party leader.

9588

CSO: 3554/106



## RELIGIOUS CHANGES SAID DESTROYING STATE'S SECULAR FOUNDATION

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 10 Nov 86 pp 2,10

[Article by Husnu A. Goksel: "Farewell to Ataturk"]

[Text] [Dedication note] I dedicate this article to "those who have sworn on their honor and reputation before the Turkish nation their allegiance to Ataturk's principles and reforms and the principle of secular republic."

Dear Ataturk, I bid you farewell. On this "10 November" I part from you.

You filled my not-so-brief life. Throughout my life, I breathed you into my lungs, and I always trusted you. My childhood memories begin in a small town in the Thrace. At that time, there were Greek flags and soldiers in the town; there was sadness and there was you. At that time, your name was Mustafa Kemal Pasa. Your name would be mentioned as Kemal Pasa in our prayers. You were our only hope for "liberation." In my young mind, you were a great man and a superhuman entity who fought singlehandedly against the enemy. I believed that you were going to defeat the enemy and bring back my enslaved father. That is all I expected from you. I had never seen your picture, but I had heard and I knew that you had a handsome face. Otherwise, why would they sing: "Your handsome grace is worth the world/My Kemal is in God's hands"?

The Greeks in our town referred to you as simply "Kemal." One day, when I was playing on the verandah, the Greek lady from the neighboring house told my mother:

"I heard that our people have captured Kemal and that he has been wounded."

My mother took me inside without saying anything. We thought that since Kemal Pasa was captured my father would never come home. I remember crying with grief. My hopes were dashed. We had prayed for whole nights for your welfare: "My Kemal is in God's hands."

On some days, we would hear reports of victory, and victory marches would be sung in low voices: "Turkish soldier, do not stop, move forward/Let no enemy remain on my homeland."

Flags flew in waves over the town on day of the victory of Sakarya. The soldiers of occupation pretended not to see them. Once again songs and marches were sung in your honor: "Violets bloom on the mountains of Sakarya/The Greek army flees like a spent flood/Long live Mustafa Kemal Pasa/Your name will be written on precious stones."

After that day your name became "Gazi." Your official name became "His Excellency Field Marshal Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasa." But in people's hearts you were only "Gazi." I knew you as "Gazi" for many years.

One day you gave your nation the gift of a republic which became your greatest work. As a result, the title "President of the Republic" was added to your name. Once again songs and marches were sung:

"The great Turkish nation formed a republic/May the Almighty make this supreme power everlasting/May the Turk's glorious flag fly everywhere/This unforgettable service of Mustafa Kemal."

I began spending my childhood in Ankara, and "something" was happening in Turkey. I thought that everything was happening by itself. I realized only later that you did that "something" or rather "everything." At that time you would pass through Gazi Boulevard, which was then a narrow, unpaved road lined with a few acacia saplings, with your motorcycle-mounted police riding in front. Some days we would see you in a lone car in an Ankara street, and some days we would see you on the rear bridge of a train returning from a tour of the country.

On Republic Day, we would have parades on Station Boulevard. You would stand on the wooden stand set up in front of the Exchequer's Department. Schools would participate in the parades. We would march before you four deep. At that time a parade consisted of a procession by a few regiments of the Ankara garrison. There would be a few artillery pieces, a few howitzers pulled by mules, a cavalry division, ambulance vehicles, homing pigeons in cages and we, the students.

In retrospect, I have a better understanding of the shortages of the time, particularly the shortage of people. You did "everything" amidst those shortages.

Then we had splendid "10th Anniversary" celebrations. You delivered your "10th Anniversary Speech" in a grassy field which I cannot locate now. Your voice was broadcast over loudspeakers: "We will raise our culture to the level of modern civilization." I could see you from a distance.

And then, one day, you became Ataturk.

## Ways Found to Kill You

Dear Ataturk, we thought you died on a 10 November 48 years ago. First we removed your pictures from walls and your face from currency and stamps. We wrote books about how incompetent you were during World War I. Then we realized that you had not died. That scared us. So we decided to kill you slowly. We have been trying to kill you for the past 48 years. We thought and are thinking of so many ways to do that. We targeted your principle of "secularism" as the best way to kill you slowly. In the very first year of the republic you gave us the "Unified Education Law." In fact that was a radical and far reaching reform. After eroding this reform for many years we are now about to abolish it completely. We are doing this because we cannot directly abolish your principle of secularism. We have come quite far in that "direction." For example, in the last 8 years, we have opened 268 Islamic seminaries compared to 263 high schools. Today, over 220,000 students are studying at 715 Islamic seminaries in Turkey. In comparison, we have only 23 agricultural schools with 2,640 students (Footnote 1) (CUMHURIYET, 22 July 1986) You may ask: "What are so many clergymen going to do?" I can reply to that with a statement by the spokesman of a political party on television: "We will open the doors of war academies to the graduates of the Islamic seminaries." (Footnote 2) (CUMHURIYET, 27 September 1986) This is the same War Academy which indicates its allegiance to you by shouting "present" while waving a strange picture of yours at the tip of a pole like a standard when your student number is read during the commencement ceremonies held every year. We have also admitted female students to the Islamic seminaries. Do not say: "Why would these women go to such schools if there are no clergywomen in Islam?" These are all phases of a sinister but well planned and programmed war against your principle of secularism. Tomorrow we will turn over the army to seminary-trained officers and we will really kill you with the children of seminary-trained mothers.

We have been generously spending your reforms on vote markets. That is because opposing you is a good means of winning votes. During the election campaign, a well-known supporter of a political party proclaimed for days on public squares: "We are saying prayers, we are saying bread, we are saying liberty." When prayers are said five times a day over loudspeakers in all corners of the country, declaring "we are saying prayers" means: "Do not forget: Ataturk turned prayers into Turkish. I am opposed to that. I am opposed to Ataturk."

In election campaigns parties and individuals are nowadays promoted and praised as "the first to start a Koranic school," "to introduce prayers in Arabic," "to introduce religion classes into schools," "to open schools of divinity" and "to build or to repair mosques." Those who win in elections later take oaths in the assembly and swear on their honor and reputation their "allegiance to your principles and reforms."

While swearing on our honor and reputation "our allegiance to Ataturk's principles and reforms and the principle of secular republic," we introduced mandatory religion courses in elementary and middle schools by constitutional

edict. The imams and the preachers entered the elementary schools through this open door. In one elementary school the imams and the preachers taught Koranic studies during a summer holiday under the guise of summer classes. (Footnote 2) (CUMHURIYET, 27 September 1986) Today, the Ministry of National Education reportedly sponsors nearly 2,500 Koranic schools. I do not think anyone knows the number of institutions which are not controlled by the ministry and which operate as "hostels." In these institutions, poor students are provided with facilities and are given mandatory and secret religious education. There are nearly 500 vocational or industrial arts schools for girls, which are the equivalent of Koranic courses for women. (Footnote 3) (CUMHURIYET, 4 August 1986) According to one minister of state, "today 100,000 Turkish children are learning about Ataturk's principles and reforms in Koranic schools." Indeed, we are being reeducated about you by teaching you. We also know how you won the War of Liberation. We now realize that if that "true patriot," Sultan Vahdettin had not given "his consent" and had it not been for the major contributions of "Galip Hoca," you would not have succeeded.

#### Campaign for Masjids

In the Turkey of the 1980's religion is being used to gnaw off your principle of secularism. The opening of mosques and masjids in government offices is expanding rapidly. Prayers said in streets and university hallways have turned into shows of force designed to coerce the authorities to build mosques where they are demanded. The regulations prepared by the Elementary Education Directorate General and permitting the opening of masjids in elementary schools was not put into effect because "it was not seen necessary at this stage." We learn that that will not be necessary for another 1 or 2 years. (Footnote 4) (CUMHURIYET, 13 August 1986) Does not that demonstrate how systematically the masjid campaign has been progressing? Religious ideology has engulfed the entire educational system, and textbooks filled with Koranic verses and stories are already enlightening Turkey's future. The mandatory religion classes which have been introduced in schools by constitutional edict have turned into religious practice. For example, when the teacher enters the class he greets the students by saying "Selamunaleykum" and the students respond "Aleykumselam." Then, when the teacher commands "friends let us all refresh our faith," they all swear loyalty to the Prophet. (Footnote 5) (GOKYUZU, October 1986, p 4) And where do you think this happens? It happens in the Education College of the Gazi University, which carries your name. The educators of tomorrow are being trained "in accordance with Ataturk's principles."

Even the President began a public speech in Kahramanmaras by reading verses--though meaning well--from papers he took out from his pocket. (Footnote 6) (CUMHURIYET, 1 January 1986) In another speech, he used an ancient saying--once again meaning well--and said: "The finger cut by Islamic law does not hurt." On the other hand, when the religious leader--with no official status--of a neighboring country where Islamic laws are in effect insulted you, we who live in the republic you have given us preferred to remain silent in order to avoid any unpleasantry.

But, dear Ataturk, we are all "Ataturkists." We have invented a "formal Ataturkism" because we are afraid of you. We name everywhere after you whether appropriate or not. We take strength from you while we kill you. Even as we kill you we are in the presence of your busts on the podiums before us and your portraits on the walls behind us--your dour, obnoxious portraits and your ugly busts. Today, on the anniversary of your death we will observe moments of silence before your mausoleum wearing masks of sadness.

Whatever we do, we do it in your name and by hiding behind you. I am ashamed, dear Ataturk, I am ashamed to say it. My shame sinks into my heart like a large nail. In your name, we placed your legacy under the boots of an air force general. And we had it approved by 92 percent of the nation. We did it "to research, to promote and to spread Ataturkist thought and Ataturk's principles and reforms." Moreover, we had your moral approval (!). Do you realize how we seek sanctuary in you because we are afraid of you?

You had asked us "to raise our culture to the level of modern civilization." We are doing that too, while complying with your principles. But, of course, that will take time. First, we are trying to absorb Arab culture, with its architecture, music, language, world outlook and philosophy of life. In the meanwhile, we have also learned the arabesque ways of interest-free interest. We pay them for our moral debt by selling parcels of our homeland in exchange for petrodollars. We have been so Arabized that the chief physician of a major hospital in Istanbul has banned male doctors from examining female patients and female doctors from examining male patients. (Footnote 7) (BULLETIN OF THE ISTANBUL PHYSICIANS' CHAMBER, August 1986) That situation was reported to the President, but I do not know what action was taken.

We are on your footsteps, dear Ataturk. "We are on your footsteps." We never stop saying that we are on your footsteps. We are truly following your path--step by step, without deviating and consciously. We are marching on your path from Ankara where you created a nation and gave the nation a homeland; where Nationalist Army officers wearing fur caps and soldiers wearing puttees walked in the Karaoglan market; where you drew up your historic military plans in the Agricultural School; where you defended the existence of the National Assembly as a symbol of your confidence in and respect for the nation even though you carried on your shoulders the status of being a "soldier" from your days in Anafartalar to the days when the enemy was in Polatli; where you established the "republic" on the foothills of Cankaya; where you created 15 million young people in 10 years; and where you drafted the reforms you found appropriate for the nation. We are marching on your path consciously and methodically. We are marching while fearing you. We will march from Ankara, to Sivas, to Erzurum, to Amasya, to Samsun where we will board the boat for Bandirma and land in Istanbul. (Footnote 8) (This geographic sequence was inspired by a conversation with Sinasi Nahit Berker) We will march on your path and in your footsteps. In Istanbul, the Great Ruler, the Ottoman dynasty, His Excellency, and the Caliphate will be waiting for us.

Dear Ataturk, I am part of the generation which you trusted, which you were proud of and which filled you with joy when you said: "The Mustafa Kemals are now becoming 20 years old." I loved you, I believed in you and I remained loyal to you all my life. I did everything loving you, believing in you, trusting you and, most importantly, with the strength you gave me. Today, on the 48th anniversary of your death, I bid you farewell. I am leaving you and parting from you on this "10 November." From now on, I will not be inspired by you in my writings and speeches. I will not have you beside me in my actions and decisions. From now on I will live without you. You did not charge me with protecting your person. You charged me and the Mustafa Kemals like me who are still 20 years old today with protecting the Republic, the secular Turkish Republic. I will uphold that Republic. This is my Republic, my secular Turkish Republic. I will uphold it and protect it without you, without receiving strength from you and without hiding in your shadow. I will protect it. Just like you said when we you embarked on your path: "Smoke rises from the mountains."

9588

CSO: 3554/111

## AGREEMENT REACHED ON INCREASED SOVIET IMPORTS

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 1 Nov 86 pp 3, 48

[Text] This week in Helsinki Finland and the Soviet Union reached a preliminary agreement on increasing the volume of Finland's imports next year by nearly 200 million rubles, about 1.4 billion markkas, in comparison with this year's.

Next year imports from and exports to the Soviet Union would thus amount to about 2 billion rubles, or over 14 billion markkas. The volume of trade would clearly be greater than some people were prepared for in pessimistic estimates made early this fall.

The two countries' trade delegations have preliminarily agreed that completely new products will be included in Finland's selection of imports. An essential portion of the increase in imports will, nevertheless, be achieved without increasing crude oil imports to 11.5 million tons.

"This week's work has been significant and productive. In comparison with the figures for September, this week we have found nearly 200 million rubles worth of additional imports," Foreign Trade Minister Jermu Laine summed up the present phase of the Finnish)Soviet trade negotiations on Friday in Helsinki.

Along with opportunities for importing more, Finland's trade with the Soviets has also gained more scope to the same extent.

The official round of negotiations on next year's trade between the two countries ended in Helsinki on Friday.

Laine wanted to postpone estimating the volume of exports for next year, although we did get some sort of picture of possible amounts of additional imports.

Laine emphasized that the Soviet Union has made a great effort and political decisions because it is trying to detach from its own markets additional imports that meet the Finnish demand. In Laine's estimation, this is not, however, an easy matter.

Finland's imports from the Soviet Union obviously might, in accordance with the current price level, be raised next year to about 2 billion rubles, or over 14 billion markkas. The volume of Finland's exports to the Soviet Union may also come to 2 billion rubles in 1987. According to these assumptions, the drop from this year's figures will be under 20 percent, clearly less than all of the pessimistic forecasts.

Since Finland's accounts receivable from this year will possibly amount to at least 500 million rubles, Finland will not let them grow any larger next year, but will instead see to it that next year's exports amount to the same volume as its imports.

The negotiations were conducted in subcommittees that discussed the two countries' imports, exports and trade balance amounts. The chairmen of the subcommittees reported the results of their efforts to Laine and Pugin on Friday.

#### Moscow Indicates What It Wishes to Buy

The Soviet Union has indicated to Finland which products it particularly wishes to buy from Finland. Its wishes regarding emphases on Finland's selection of exports are particularly interesting this year since Finland will have to in any event reduce its exports.

Those products needed to renew the production machinery and make it more efficient are emphasized among the needs indicated by the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union's investment objectives do not, however, apparently mean that Finnish consumer goods would be ranked low in order of their importance. Our neighbors have, however, viewed those products that they classify as luxury items more negatively before. These they weed out of Finland's selection of exports.

The Soviet Union, however, considers its purchases on the Finnish consumer goods market to be very important and probably wants these products more than it feared them in the beginning.

Early last week the Soviet Union surprisingly announced to Finland that it clearly needs a smaller cloth and sock quota than what has been reserved for it here. The Finns, however, offered a larger amount and the partners' expectations have now to some extent been brought closer to one another in the negotiations in Helsinki.

According to Laine, it is too soon to talk specifically of Soviet objectives, that is, in terms of quotas. He said that mutual agreement prevails on many of the quotas. There are, however, also items on which differences of opinion prevail.

#### Checkups to Become an Institution

Finland has proposed to the Soviet Union that, beginning with next year, they keep track of trade developments on a quarterly basis. Such an institution, a permanent practice, would be an entirely new feature in the two countries' clearing trade, which is based on an annually concluded trade agreement.



Negotiations on checkups have indeed been entered into before when price fluctuations have rocked trade values. The idea would, however, this time be to establish a regular practice of checking on developments. Finland would like to be able to quickly take advantage of any rise in import prices or suddenly reduce exports if import prices plummet.

A rise in import values in the clearing trade, which is based on equal volumes of imports and exports between the two countries, immediately creates more opportunities to increase exports. The only condition is that the practical conclusions be drawn immediately.

The Soviet Union has not assumed a definitive position on the Finns' proposal, but it appears to be taking a favorable view of it.

#### 11.5 Million Tons of Crude Oil in 1987

The volume of imports cannot be determined in advance in the negotiations between the two governments; rather, how Finland's purchases are ultimately realized will have a decisive effect on this. Laine pointed out that the demand may change with respect to today's situation and import volume also depends on the evolution of prices.

The views of both countries' experts on world market prices are now comparatively close to one another. Estimates of import volume are based on the current price of oil.

Energy will be a key factor in next year's imports. We are preparing to import and reexport a total of 11.5 million tons of crude oil in 1987. That amount is much more than the 8.5 million tons to be imported into Finland this year, which does not, however, include the contingent of at the most a million tons to be reexported that is planned for this year.

Laine said that this also includes new imports, some petrochemical products as well as machines and equipment.

In connection with certain things, it has been assumed that the Soviet Union would have offered Finland some of those minerals, for example, concentrates, which the country formerly sold only in the foreign exchange trade.

Finland has further submitted a list of the products it wants in addition to the 200 million rubles worth of supplementary imports on which the two countries have reached preliminary mutual agreement. According to Laine, it amounts to hundreds rather than tens of millions of rubles.

The Soviet Union likewise has its own list of things it hopes for from the diversification of Finland's imports. The Soviet Union is still offering machines and equipment, among other items. Laine said that Finland has not yet determined whether there is a demand for just these products among us here.

For the purpose of further clarifications, the trade delegations will meet again in Moscow at the vice chairman level during the week beginning with 24 November. Meetings of experts will probably continue to be held even before the November conference. The goal is to have the trade agreement signed in December.

Laine said that this week's meeting will deal with exports and imports only. That portion of Finland's accounts receivable in excess of the credit line has been dealt with separately.

"We will try to find additional imports for this year too," Laine said.

In Laine's estimation, this year's balance amount is smaller than was thought up until now. Reexport operations have reduced it. It will, however, come to 200 million rubles over the agreed)on 300)million)ruble credit line.

#### Soviet Government Observes with Interest

Soviet trade delegate Pugin said that the Soviet Government is following the efforts of the trade negotiators. "In the Soviet Union we have decided to do everything we can to keep trade from being reduced," Pugin said.

"Insofar as we succeed in carrying out our proposal and realizing Finnish hopes, there will be no need to speak of reducing trade," Pugin remarked. According to him, there are untapped opportunities in imports of machines and equipment and certain raw materials.

According to Pugin, the Soviet foreign trade system, which is to be remodeled early next year, will create new opportunities for trade. He also emphasized the role of Finnish)Soviet joint ventures in the future.

"The establishment of joint venture companies will not quickly resolve our trade problems, but since Finland and the Soviet Union have always been pioneers in the development of economic relations, we hope that Finnish firms will not lag behind the firms of other countries in this respect," Pugin said.

From 20 to 30 Finnish firms are at present discussing the establishment of joint ventures with the Soviet Union.

In the future much will depend on the evolution of raw material and especially oil prices. According to Pugin, the Soviet Union's objective is, however, to come close to the trade volume figures called for in the general agreement by as early as next year.

11,466

CSO: 3617/19

## INDUSTRIES URGED TO INCREASE R&amp;D INVESTMENTS

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 29 Oct 86 p 2

[Editorial: "Finnish Industry Invests Too Little in Human Capital"]

[Text] The foundations of Finnish industry are relatively sound, but its change in structure has been delayed. This is why it is incapable of responding to many internal and external challenges quickly enough.

Industry still concentrates largely on products for mass consumption whose ability to compete in terms of price determines whether they will meet with success. It is particularly difficult to survive in the competition in markets for these mass)consumption products, the production of which requires abundant labor. The fact is that countries with low wage levels can sell them more profitably than we can.

If improvement of our industrial structure had been farther advanced, we would not have to talk about industry's ability to compete as much as we are now doing. Government measures to lower industry's costs would also produce better results than they do now. Prime Minister Kalevi Sorsa and industry would obtain a response to their hopes for a lowering of interest rates since firms would procure more low)interest loans from abroad which would add to our foreign currency reserve.

Finnish industry exports most of its products to countries with a high standard of living. The percentage of sales accounted for by mass)consumption products in those countries is still decisively large. In them, on the other hand, there is a demand for many specialized products, the quality of which is valued more than the price. Some Finnish firms have already learned from experience that there is definitely a demand for high)quality products even at Finnish [production] cost levels. The reduced volume of exports to more demanding markets this year tells us that there are still too few of these firms.

In terms of investments, we are still concentrating too much on construction, machines and equipment. The objective is often and exclusively an effort to increase the volume of production. Fixed investments are more carefully considered than investments in manpower and human capital. Change is

inevitable since the need for training, product development and marketing is increasing at the fastest rate.

Many Finnish firms must switch from a former concentration on production to the development of human resources. The average Finnish industry is still very far from the requirements of today. Does our purely Finnish inflexibility, which also restricts workers' occupational and local mobility, weigh heavily on this too?

Industry must not have to wait too long for the government to take care of its own share of the training and through this firms will be able to obtain sufficiently competent, skilled labor. Firms must themselves train their personnel to be successful. Otherwise, the shortage of skilled workers will constitute an ever greater obstacle to the improvement and success of our industries. The shortage of skilled labor is even now on the rise in spite of the fact that unemployment is increasing.

The general impression is that the level of training in Finland is particularly high. In appraisals of the situation, however, more attention has been paid to quantitative factors than to qualitative ones. Training has remained behind the times. Furthermore, training is very imperfectly applied to labor's needs, for which the education supported by the nation cannot alone be blamed. Firms have also neglected their opportunities and very much feared that competitors would reap the benefits of their training.

11,466

CSO: 3617/19

## DEVELOPMENT OF INFLATIONARY TREND ANALYZED

Madrid MERCADO in Spanish 26 Dec 86 p 23

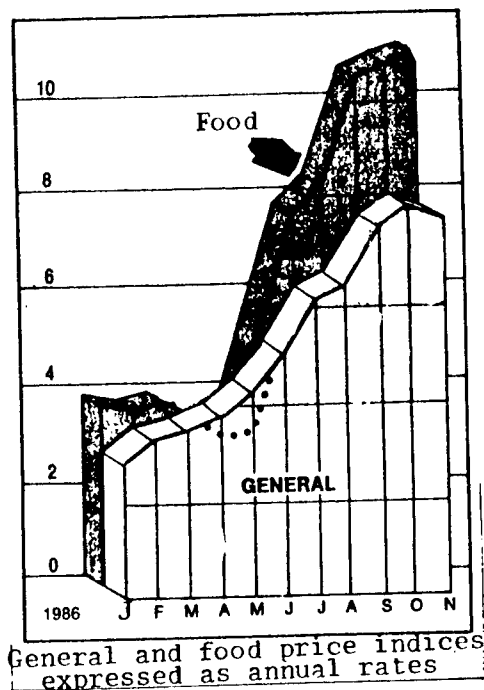
[Text] No such miracle has been seen since June of 1985. The date should then be circled: the IPC reported for the month of November 1986 showed a negative development of -0.2 percent, thanks to the shrinkage in food prices (-0.9 percent) and the modest increase in the prices of nonfood items (up 0.2 percent). The experts to whom MERCADO talked attribute the miracle to the much vaunted decision to reduce gasoline prices. The first studies show that this reduction had a spectacular effect on the IPE, estimated at about four tenths.

A detailed breakdown of the November price index shows some atypical behavior. For example, the prices of truck-garden crops dropped 15.2 percent. The atypical development for energy products continued, at -5.3 percent. As a whole, the prices of foodstuffs, undifferentiated, dropped 2.5 percent. On the other hand, the clothing and footwear category showed an increase of 2.4 percent. The results in terms of interannual rates were -12 percent for energy products, 11.1 percent for foodstuffs and 10.7 percent for clothing and footwear (the new concern of the exegetes of the IPC). Cumulative inflation comes to 7.8 percent and the interannual rate is 8.3 percent.

## End of the Miracle

It is not believed that the monthly miracle will produce an annual miracle. Despite the price decline in November, expectations where annual inflation is concerned continue to be low (better than before November, naturally). The calculations for the month of December, of which there are already many now, explained that nonfood items will go up by about 0.5 percent in the last months of the year. The development of food prices, however, is not so predictable. "The price drops for this year have already ended," sources at the Ministry of Economy commented to MERCADO. Which means that food will doubtless go up in December. But if this increase is not too great, it might still be possible to have an increase in the overall IPC of about 0.8 points, which would make it possible to achieve an annual inflation rate from December to December of about 8.5 percent. This is a modest achievement, since there are some (in the opposition, of course) who have already begun talking about two-digit inflation and a new inflationary wave. Reality, with Solchaga, has been kind, and not thanks specifically to emergency imports.

Although 8.5 percent is still possible, there is not much justification for optimism, although the minister still says 5 percent.



5157  
CSO:3548/35

## REACTIONS TO KOIVISTO NORDIC SEA SPEECH

## Komissarov on Finnish Initiatives

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 8 Nov 86 p 34

[Article by Yuriy Komissarov: "In the Spirit of the Times"]

[Text] APN--President Mauno Koivisto's speech at the Paasikivi Society on 15 October was a reassuring demonstration of the continuity of the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line, Finland's postwar foreign policy, and of the immutability of its focal points.

It is easy to see that the basis for President Koivisto's new initiatives, like the zone initiative proposed by President Urho Kekkonen 23 years ago, is a certain general mode of rapprochement. It is an effort to actively promote a state of peace, consolidate stable conditions and keep the area outside of international tension and conflicts. It is the development of new views that deviate from the rigid way of looking at things, views on the problems of war and peace in an age of nuclear missiles, aside from the problems of Northern European security. And it is the firm belief that these problems will be resolved by political means instead of means employing military technology and force. Only in this way is it possible to guarantee the real security of the countries of the region and -- what is just as important -- without damaging the security of any other country, including the superpowers, which have their own interest in Northern Europe.

When Kekkonen's idea of a nuclear-free Northern Europe was born, the concept, "measures in the military domain that add to one's credibility," was not yet in common international usage. But Finland's proposal was precisely in that direction and later the whole idea of establishing nuclear-free zones in Europe was by its very nature connected with the concept of credibility measures that was formulated in a CSCE resolution and which was later further developed at the Stockholm conference. Kekkonen's second initiative: a proposal for arrangements that would assure a state of peace on the Finnish-Norwegian border, undeniably belongs to the same category.

President Koivisto's initiative with regard to the implementation of credibility measures involving military operations in Northern Europe, and in particular in the marine areas adjoining it along with the establishment of a

nuclear-free zone, is in the same spirit those credibility measures the Helsinki CSCE resolution and the Stockholm agreements call for.

On the other hand, in one respect the initiative introduces new dimensions to the question of credibility measures in concentrating on military operations in the sea and in emphasizing special regional features.

Let us remember that one of the chief aims of the credibility measures specified in the CSCE resolution was to reduce the danger of armed conflicts and wrong impressions or false estimates of military operations that could cause uneasiness. In the opinion of the Soviet Union, at the Stockholm conference they should have tried to agree on new credibility measures that would by their very nature be more significant and more comprehensive in their domains than those agreed on in Helsinki. That is why it proposed that, aside from ground forces and air force military exercises, naval operations that are pursued independently or jointly in Europe and in those waters bordering on it and in their air space should also be restricted.

As we know, the United States and the other NATO countries were opposed to discussion of questions involving military operations in the seas during the first phase of the Stockholm conference. The Soviet Union did agree to postpone those issues until the second phase of the conference.

Credibility measures relating to the marine areas bordering on Europe are, however, still of particular current interest and the timeliness of credibility measures involving the marine areas bordering on Northern Europe has increased.

Speaking before the Storting in June, Norwegian Foreign Minister Knut Frydenlund expressed his serious concern over the superpowers' increasing military activity in the North Atlantic and the Arctic Ocean. He proposed that the conclusion of an agreement between the nations and coastal nations that engage in military exercises in the northern seas be discussed, the purpose of which would be to prevent military conflicts. His colleague, Defense Minister Johan Jorgen Holst, proposed the same sort of ideas in October. Finnish Foreign Minister Paavo Vayrynen has spoken of the possibility of and the need for implementing more extensive measures for increasing credibility as concerns Northern Europe.

Lively interest in these issues has also been evinced in Sweden as well as in Denmark and Iceland. The Icelandic Government, for example, has on several occasions expressed its support for limiting military operations in the North Atlantic.

The fact that military operations in the Barents, Norwegian, North and Baltic Seas are viewed as a particular reason for concern in the Nordic countries is quite understandable. It can hardly be disputed that the activities of the navies and air forces of the superpowers and the military alliances have increased these past few years. That is a fact regardless of how it is interpreted or on what motives it is based.



Thus, during his visit to Finland, U.S. Armed Forces Commanders Council chairman Adm William Crowe recently again maintained (after Koivisto's speech) that the United States and NATO's military presence in Northern European waters is unavoidable because "the Soviet Union is constantly increasing its armaments on the Kola Peninsula" and because the United States and NATO must "demonstrate their readiness to act in that area when necessary."

The Soviets have many times emphasized that their military operations in the northwestern part of the country as well as the increase in their naval forces in the North and Baltic Seas are naturally strictly defense operations in nature and an adequate reaction to the threat constituted by the United States and NATO precisely in Northern Europe and its waters, among other areas. These operations are a consequence of the effort to restore or maintain worldwide parity in terms of military strategy. And American operations like the organizing of ever bigger and more intensive naval landing exercises in Northern Europe and the areas bordering on it, plans for the permanent patrolling of the Norwegian Sea by aircraft carriers and the introduction of battleships armed with cruise missiles into the Baltic are specifically aimed at undermining the situation.

The Soviet Union has consistently promoted a cessation of the naval arms race. As early as 1984, at the United Nations it proposed an agreement on many concrete measures that would involve the reciprocal restriction of naval operations and limitations on naval armaments. The proposal also contained both general and specific credibility measures involving, for example, the Indian Ocean, the Atlantic or the Pacific Oceans. These proposals are continuously in effect.

The Soviet Union has also been constantly prepared to begin negotiations on the restriction of naval operations, limitations on and reductions of naval armaments and the extension of credibility measures to include the seas and oceans, especially those marine areas in which maritime traffic is heaviest and in which the likelihood of conflict situations is greatest.

As we have already stated, the Soviet Union has consistently supported and still supports the inclusion of naval exercises conducted in the waters bordering on Europe in the CSCE process within the framework of issues to be discussed.

It is also important to discuss those measures by means of which nations can be guaranteed that those who endorse them will honor their pledges. The agreements obtained in Stockholm show how far the Soviet Union is prepared to go on issues relating to the supervision of credibility measures.

The fact that all measures restricting naval operations and armaments will have to be agreed on is obvious, and that they must be implemented in full compliance with the principle of the inviolability of each [nation's] security interests and necessarily taking into account all factors that may affect the naval balance of power as well as any other arms limitation domains which in one way or another involve naval forces. President Koivisto has rightly stressed the fact that, "especially in the North Atlantic and the Arctic

Ocean, measures adding to credibility would be in the interests of the security of all parties -- also the peoples of Northern Europe."

Finland's new initiative has gotten people to focus on strengthening of the existing state of peace and of stable conditions elsewhere than in Northern Europe alone. It once again demonstrates how timely it would be to begin discussions on naval operations as concerns all of Europe. It is clear that this will be an important issue during the next phase of the Stockholm conference. At that time they do indeed plan to continue the discussions on those credibility measures that were postponed until some future date because of differences of opinion during the first phase and to begin discussions on the disarmament problems of this part of the world. In connection with this, President Koivisto's proposal gains greater current importance, even though U.S. Stockholm delegation leader Robert Barry has hastened to state that the question of naval credibility measures continues to be a "particularly problematic one" for the United States and its allies.

We can at the present time already speak of a whole flock of Finnish initiatives, the object of which is to increase credibility and security in Northern Europe and in the surrounding areas: initiatives for a nuclear-free Northern Europe, border peace arrangements with Norway, the banning of long-range cruise missiles in this area and now the restriction of military operations in the waters adjacent to Northern Europe. It is obvious that carrying out these constructive proposals in that part of Europe in which tension has so far -- in comparison with other areas -- been at a relatively low level would further the strengthening of peaceful and stable conditions and mutual trust throughout this entire part of the world and would be a contribution in favor of the prevention of nuclear destruction.

#### Daily Comments on Komissarov Article

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 10 Nov 86 p 2

[Editorial: "Naval Race in Europe"]

[Text] The person who signs himself with the Soviet pen name Yuriy Komissarov came to the conclusion in our Sunday edition that military tension between the superpowers is still at a relatively low level in the waters surrounding Northern Europe. This has been a familiar notion over the years and we have preferred to stick to it both in Finland and in our neighboring Scandinavian countries.

Komissarov, however, predicts that tension will continue to mount. He feels that U.S. naval operations are increasing tension. The Soviet Union is responding to them to preserve worldwide parity in military strategy. This simply means an ongoing arms race between the two above-mentioned superpowers in these maritime areas too. This course of action will not lead to a lessening of tension.

The countries of Northern Europe are outside observers of the race between the superpowers and at the same time its victims. Nothing can be done about a geography that just happens to have located the Soviet Union's most important

open water port precisely in Murmansk. It serves the Soviet Union's powerful submarine fleet which these past few years has acquired an ever larger surface fleet for its protection.

As for President Ronald Reagan's naval superpower strategy, it has meant that the Americans have been coming into these same waters in force. Along with its allies, the United States is trying to cut the Soviet fleet off from the Arctic Ocean and to prevent it from moving south of a line connecting Greenland, Iceland and the British Isles in the event of a crisis. The Western fleet is following with interest the Soviet fleet's preparations for new positions beneath the northern sea ice.

Komissarov clearly said that the Soviet Union will not let the other side's naval forces in the area become more powerful than its own, but will respond by continuously enlarging its fleet. This is an obvious fact which, as far as he is concerned, prompted President Mauno Koivisto to propose the consideration of measures that would increase credibility in the northern seas. Politically, the proposal has received the support of the writer using a Soviet pen name, but it has not yet changed the increasingly strained situation that prevails on the military front.

11,466

CSO: 3617/23

## BELIEF IN UNTHREATENED NORDIC COUNTRIES MAINTAINED

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 25 Nov 86 p 19

[Text] "The political authorities of the Nordic countries are deliberately concealing information on the intelligence operations of the Soviet Union in order to maintain the myth that the area is not threatened." This is what a former American diplomat, John C. Ausland, currently living in Norway, says in an interview published in the Norwegian AFTENPOSTEN.

Ausland, whose book "Security of the Nordic Countries and the Superpowers" has just come out, says that the Nordic countries want to see their own part of the world as an area which is not marked with threats."

"Even if politicians and the media succeed in maintaining this myth, the preparations for an eventual new war are going on behind the scene. No other area is as suitable for intelligence operations and spying as this," Ausland states.

## Claims about Kekkonen

In his book Ausland says that the "most conflicting statements" by eastern defectors relate to President Urho Kekkonen. He quotes Jan Sejna, a Czech officer, and Anatoli Golytshin, a Soviet KGB officer.

Sejna claims that Marshall Gretshko had said to the leaders of Czechoslovakia, in Prague in 1966: "We have reached a private agreement with President Kekkonen. According to it, in case of the outbreak of an eventual war with the west, Finns will announce their support to the Warsaw Pact, demand the status of a non-warring nation and make their harbors and areas available to Soviet troops."

Golytshin, on his behalf, reports in his book that the KGB has several high-ranking Finnish politicians as its agents. The most important of them uses the pseudonym "Timo", meaning Kekkonen. He says that Timo's greatest service to the Soviet Union was convening the Helsinki meeting in 1975," says Ausland in the interview.

Ausland emphasizes that the book is strange and that many experts consider the claims unbelievable.

In the interview, Ausland also wants to emphasize that he does not support Sejna's and Golytshin's statements. "I only state them."

"Most Finns hold Kekkonen in high esteem. When the books came out, there was very little belief in them in Finland. It is possible that we are dealing with different views. Since Kekkonen was the spokesman for the Soviet proposals in the issue concerning the nuclear-free zone in the Nordic countries and in the Helsinki meeting, it is very likely that the Soviet leaders saw him as their own man."

"On the other hand, most people in the Nordic countries consider him both a wise and shrewd statesman protecting the interests of his nation in a difficult situation," says the former American diplomat.

12956

CSO: 3617/31

## ADDITIONAL DETAILS ON NOKIA, VALMET ARMS MAKING MERGER

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 27 Dec 86 p 24

[Text] The merger of the weapons units of Valmet and Nokia will be postponed by at least a few weeks from the beginning of January. The minutes of the meeting declaring the intent to merge was made public on December 15th.

Valmut found the fast paced timetable to be too much as its employees vigorously demanded binding statements regarding the preservation of jobs and benefits already gained. In addition other organizational aspects of commercial activities has taken longer than expected within Valmet.

"We are ready in principle to sign the agreement," assures the manager responsible for Nokia's enterprise planning, Seppo Ahonen. He knew nothing about the delay in the founding of the new corporation.

"We have had no contact with Valmet after the signing of the letter of intent."

Valmet employees are demanding that Valmet have a majority in the new company in the ratio 65:35. If this is not possible then the merger should be abandoned, they say.

The manager of the defence apparatus division, Heikki Mantyla, stated that the contents of the minutes of the intention declaring meeting will not be changed. The negotiations with workers that the co-operation law requires have been held. The negotiations for retaining personnel benefits will be continued with the management of the new corporation.

The collapse of the timetable and the postponement of crucial decisions beyond the end of the fiscal period mean extra work according to Mantyla. The failure to meet the objective of the timetable, he says, is the fault of the Valmet people themselves. Preparations took more time than had been anticipated.

13002/12851

CSO: 3617/38

## WOMEN'S ROLE IN ARMED FORCES VIEWED IN LIGHT OF PROPOSAL

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 21 Dec 86 p 26

[Text] Radar monitor operator Raija Sieppi, 42, of Rovaniemi intently watches a television screen. On the screen is an outline of Finland's remote, but strategically most important, northernmost part. Through ear-phones Raija listens to the observations of a land based radar station and quickly types the information into a computer terminal.

Raija is dressed in pants, vest and necktie. The dark blue tint of her uniform is the same as that of her closest co-workers, the officers and NCO's of the Lapland Squadron of the Air Force. The budget did not suffice for outer garments yet this year. Next year white sheepskin hats will be procured for women recruits.

Raija Sieppi seems to be totally absorbed in her work in the dim, windowless room in Northern Finland's Airspace Monitoring Center, as does her colleague beside her, Minna Holopainen, 21, who is in her fourth month of serving as a substitute for a worker on maternity leave.

Raija, Minna and other women are responsible for monitoring Lapland's air space from within a bunker built deep within a mountain on the Arctic Circle. There are not many men in the ranks of the radar monitor operators. Women by the tens have also been recruited to handle communications. Already one-fourth of the troops serving under Squadron Commander Vaino Rajamaki are women.

The armed forces provide employment for about 7000 women altogether. In occupations classified as military the Air Force employs the most women.

Most of the women in the employ of the armed forces are typists, telephone operators, kitchen helpers, nurses, etc. The few exceptions are those who have attained important positions: the manager of the Central Library of Military Science, office manager of the general staff, provisions inspector, military law attorney and flight leader.

## There Will Soon Be a Shortage of Men

In the future the ranks of the women will grow from the present because the number of working-aged men will diminish. The shrinkage of the age classes in the 1990's and the decimation of the amount of reservists after 2010 worry the leadership of the armed forces. That is why it is continually initiating extensive political discussion about the participation of women in the defense of the country.

The chief of the general staff, Vice-Admiral Jan Klenberg was the latest as he cautiously suggested voluntary training for women. He suggests that 30,000 - 40,000 women should be trained for various crisis oriented preparedness tasks. The vice-admiral would not order Finnish women to bear arms, not even if they would voluntarily express a desire to do so, which is the arrangement in other Nordic countries.

A recent opinion survey indicates that 56% of Finns favor voluntary military service for women. 39%, however, oppose this. A defense role limited to civil defense is considered good by slightly more than one half. Klenberg would order women doctors and nurses to take courses in special medical practices used in catastrophies. General regional monitoring and communications would especially be left to the women. Cruise missiles and low-flying bombers as well as spy-mission aircraft must be watched for all over the country with human eyes and ears. Also the monitoring of maritime zones would be a duty for the women, Klenberg outlined.

Because it requires the extreme alertness of the senses the airspace monitoring duty forces Raija Sieppi to take frequent breaks.

Raija says she became recruited into the armed forces by chance. As a fresh graduate of secondary school she noticed a little ad announcing the search for ten sharp-eyed women in good condition. There were 120 applicants.

This radar monitor operator actually had wanted to become a midwife. "The two jobs share at least two characteristics: round-the-clock shiftwork and a great responsibility."

## The Career Ladder Is Blocked By the Lack of Military Service

"But women have no opportunities for career advancement," complains the shop steward of the recruits in Lapland. The lack of normal military service blocks the career ladder. Even though the women take regular courses and they do precisely the same work as even the chief of monitoring, they remain under the command of men.

Sometimes Raija is really irritated when a young and green NCO gives orders. The cocky attitude often vanishes when the same young man has to ask for help.



The blockage of the career ladder also keeps the pay small. "Our wage scale ends where that of the active officers begins."

The recruits do have an advantage in that they need not suffer the perpetual transfer routine of the officers. Raija does not know of any cases of compulsory orders served on recruits.

Radar monitor operator Sieppi will retire from precisely the same duty and location as where she started 19 years ago. She will probably leave the military prematurely: the monitor that is able to continue this alertness demanding job until the age of 60 is rare indeed.

This shop steward would also like information and background about her job. "I don't think there'd be any harm in training us through courses on security and military policies. These would not make us more warlike but would instead give us a broader perspective on matters."

Jan Klenbergs invitation to participate in training for crisis duties would certainly be accepted by many. Enthusiastic women might handle the duties better than men, believes Raija Sieppi. "But if the part and responsibility of women in defense of the country is to be increased then the obstacles to equality should first be removed. This would give credibility to the proposals."

Her superior, Colonel Vaino Rajamaki, agrees. "Equality will not be realized until women can advance on their careers all the way to general. Our form of government is a statement that each citizen has an obligation to defend his/her fatherland. Only the compulsory military service law segregates the men only for weapons-bearing service."

"In the wars of the future there will no longer be a front line and a home front. The warfare will extend all over. Women will then be utterly helpless if they are not trained. They will be at the mercy of the war," the frank Rajamaki says describing the conditions of crisis.

Rajamaki, who is commander of the Lapland Squadron, feels that women would not gain any understanding of the nature of war nor the necessary preparedness for true crisis situations in a voluntary course lasting a few weeks. He recommends combat training and refresher training for women too. "The defense policies would be more credible if women were to participate as equals."

The prejudices connected with full military obligation for women are even more firmly entrenched than those regarding women in the clergy. Perhaps we'll have matured to that point by the next millenium, predicts Rajamaki.

#### Women Believe In a Policy of Peace

The chief secretaries of the large political women's organizations, Marianne Laxen, a Social Democrat, and Heta Tuominen, of the Center Party, reject the full involvement of women in defense during crisis situations. Both are on

the discussion committee on matters of equality which should be finalizing a statement to the defence ministry in January on their deliberations about the defense training.

Marianne Laxen regards Vice-Admiral Klenberg's and defence ministry office chief, Lieutenant Aimo Pajunen's earlier proposals as being illogical. "The most significant demilitarized zone in Finland, the women, would be militarized under this proposal that rides on the coat-tails of sex equality."

Women would be called into the army to clean, make beds, prepare food and to stare into the skies. They're good enough for the insignificant menial tasks. No more important duties will be offered them for the men wish to keep these for themselves. In a gentlemanly manner it is announced that it is not proper for women to bear arms, Laxen criticizes.

"If equality is to be realized according to manly models then a rifle should be forced into the women's hands also. Compulsory military service for women is, however, a step in the wrong direction. I support an 180 degree change in direction. I would increase the possible ways whereby men could refuse to serve in the army."

Marianne Laxen believes that better results will be gained by disarmament and a policy of peace than by dragging women into the army.

Heta Tuominen, who has completed the defense training courses, swears upon the peace-seeking neutral policies of Finland. She points out that a defence capability is merely a part of the overall policy of security.

Tuominen fears that the enthusiastic participation by women in peace movements in Europe is viewed as a peril by every army. An effort is being made in every way to prepare in women a favorable attitude towards armed forces, which will be experiencing a shortage of men in the future.

The purpose for the voluntary crisis training is precisely to change attitudes, opines Heta Tuominen. They are not needed for any other reason. "The medical care personnel are already trained for crisis situations. Every hospital already has clear plans and procedures to use in the event of a large scale catastrophe. Should drill then be instituted under the command of officers?"

We also have a civil defence law. Every woman can sign up in her own community for training regarding air raids. Finland's Red Cross offers first aid courses. The Marttas, home and farm-economics women continuously practice the providing of food for masses at all manner of celebrations and fairs. "Should this take place under military orders?" Tuominen asks Klenberg.

13002/12851  
CSO: 3617/38

## DETAILS OF MINISTRY OF DEFENSE REORGANIZATION GIVEN

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 4 Jan 87 p 6

[Article by Carlos Yarnoz]

[Text] Along the lengthy path toward conversion of the former three military ministries into a single Ministry of Defense, Narcis Serra has just taken a step which was designed basically to correct an error committed when the ministerial organization decree was approved in 1984. At that time, due to pressure from the military, the head office for a key sector, defense policy, was placed under the jurisdiction of the so-called military branch of the ministry, specifically the chief of the General Staff for Defense (JEMAD), who was at that time Adm Angel Liberal.

Liberal had served as undersecretary at the Ministry of Defense under the Democratic Center Union (UCD) governments, and when asked by Serra to take over the JEMAD, the admiral pointed out the desirability of placing defense policy under his command. This was included in the organizational decree and Liberal chose for the post a trusted colleague, Adm Fernando Nardiz, who is now chief of the General Staff of the Navy.

Throughout the entire preceding legislative term, this office was the key factor in the drafting of reports which related directly to such sensitive matters as Spanish policy with regard to NATO, the launching of negotiations concerning the future of military bases and the implementation of the Joint Strategic Plan. The importance of purely military aspects in these sectors was clear, but obviously eminently political aspects were involved, and dealing with them definitely belongs in the purely political realm.

For this reason, the technicians in the department believed from the beginning that this aspect of ministerial organization was a mistake, and that it could only be justified in terms of Serra's traditional policy of avoiding battles with the military commanders when the damage could be great and when the remedy could be imposed in the near future, even at the cost of negative repercussions of these weaknesses on the development of normal operations at the ministry, as occurred in this case.

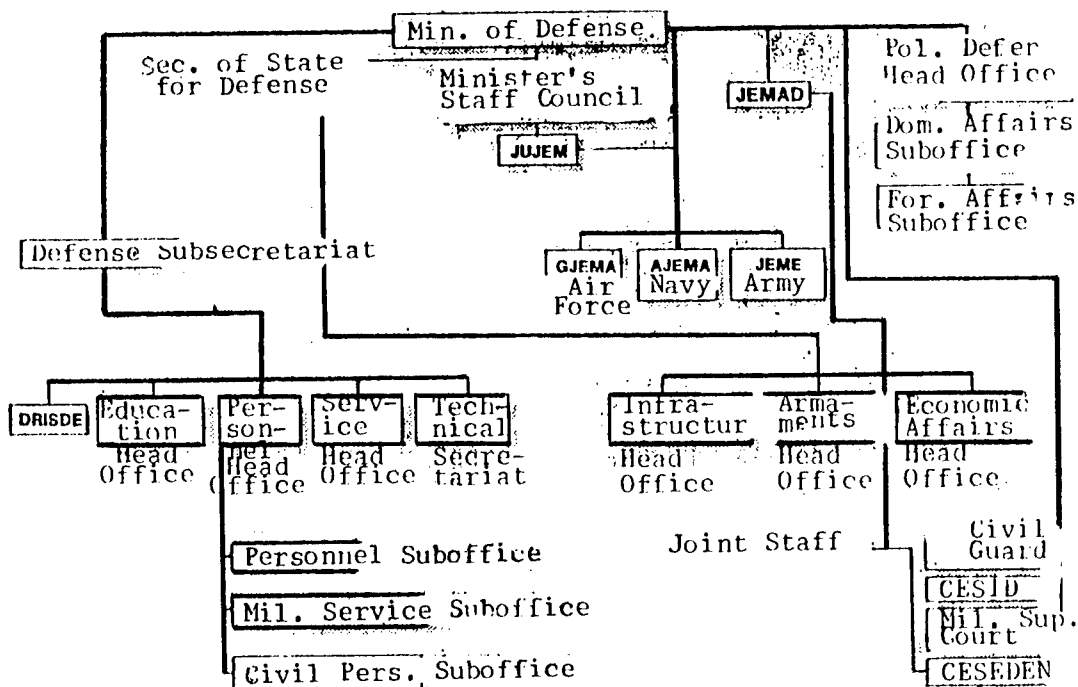
With the present correction, involving approval of the amendment of the organizational decree at the last Council of Ministers meeting of the year,

the headquarters office for defense policy has been placed under Serra himself, as was logical. He will appoint Lt Gen Francisco Veguillas, currently serving as captain general of Valladolid, to head it. Veguillas was head of the minister's technical staff from February 1984 to March of last year. He is, moreover, a trusted colleague of the minister, and in addition, he has already been closely involved with the current policy of the government in the defense sector.

On a parallel basis, the reorganization of the structure of the ministry required the establishment of a general educational office, previously a suboffice, at a time when Serra is launching a profound reform of military training. This undertaking as well, and also because of the alleged weakness of the minister, comes 3 years late in terms of Serra's initial plans. He has always described the reform of the military programs in the training academies as a "delicate subject."

This reform will be overseen by the undersecretary, Gustavo Suarez Pertierra, who will also have the assistance now of the military service suboffice and the service headquarters office, both newly established. With all of this, Serra has taken another step toward making the Ministry of Defense more like a normal ministry. It has now been more than 10 years since the three ministries, one for each branch, were merged into one, but as the department personnel say, "one blazes the path in pursuing it."

Ministry of Defense Table of Organization



## HUNT FOR FOREIGN MINISUB CAME 'EXTREMELY CLOSE' TO SUCCESS

## Summer Incident Played Down

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 31 Dec 86 p 6

[Article by Sune Olofson: "Foreign Minisub Recorded"; first paragraph is SVENSKA DAGBLADET introduction]

[Text] This is the first of a number of articles in which SVENSKA DAGBLADET will disclose new details concerning the inquisitive scrutiny foreign powers are directing at Sweden.

Last summer the Navy was able to record propeller and engine noises made by a foreign minisub in Vidingefjarden in the Stockholm archipelago. The hunt for the sub, which was surrounded by great secrecy, came very close to succeeding.

The sub hunt in Vidingefjarden involved the second largest use of force in all the sub hunts that have occurred since the events in Harsfjarden. As many as 30 depth charges of up to 120 kg were dropped and about 60 Elma shells were fired. During the Harsfjarden 36 depth charges were dropped and four mines were detonated in conjunction with mine stations.

After months of analysis it is now clear that the result of the sub hunt in Vidingefjarden in late May and early June is the strongest evidence found in 1986 that Swedish ocean territory is still being violated by foreign powers.

## Minisub Verified

The recording was confirmed by Commodore Hans Tynnerstrom, chief of Musko Navy Base. He headed the Vidinge operation.

"It is correct that we recorded sounds made by a foreign underwater craft which occurred in connection with the coastal fleet's exercises in Vidingefjarden," Hans Tynnerstrom told SVENSKA DAGBLADET.

The sounds have been analyzed at the Navy's audio library of foreign vessels and the end result is "verification of a minisub."

The sub hunt was reported in the mass media for several days, from 6 to 9 June.

"Actually we kept it up for 12 days. One shouldn't dramatize things unnecessarily, but in the Navy we live with a very serious situation that the general public is not aware of," Hans Tynnerstrom said.

#### Hunt Played down

The information divisions of the Defense and Naval Staffs played down the sub hunt and announced on 9 June that it had been called off.

On the night of Saturday, 7 June, the Navy was forced to close off a large area from Soderarm in the north to Kallskar archipelago in the south. Recreational boat and airplane traffic was banned because of the risk of people being harmed when force was used.

The closing off of the area also obscured the fact that naval units had detected clear hydrophone echoes from a foreign submarine.

The sub hunt started back at the end of May when two trash haulers in a skerry boat made an unusual observation not far from Vidingefjarden.

"The observation was so special that we were in no doubt," Hans Tynnerstrom said.

#### Three Units Sent In

The observation of the trash haulers along with the hydrophone echoes were strong indications of the credibility of the intrusion.

As the coastal fleet's sub-hunting force was in the area, all units were sent in: three submarines, 12 patrol boats, four minesweepers, five helicopters, two coastal corvettes and a sub-hunting airplane. At the same time commando units and one Army platoon were ordered out to the islands for guard and observation duties. Warning systems were activated in lines and at mine stations.

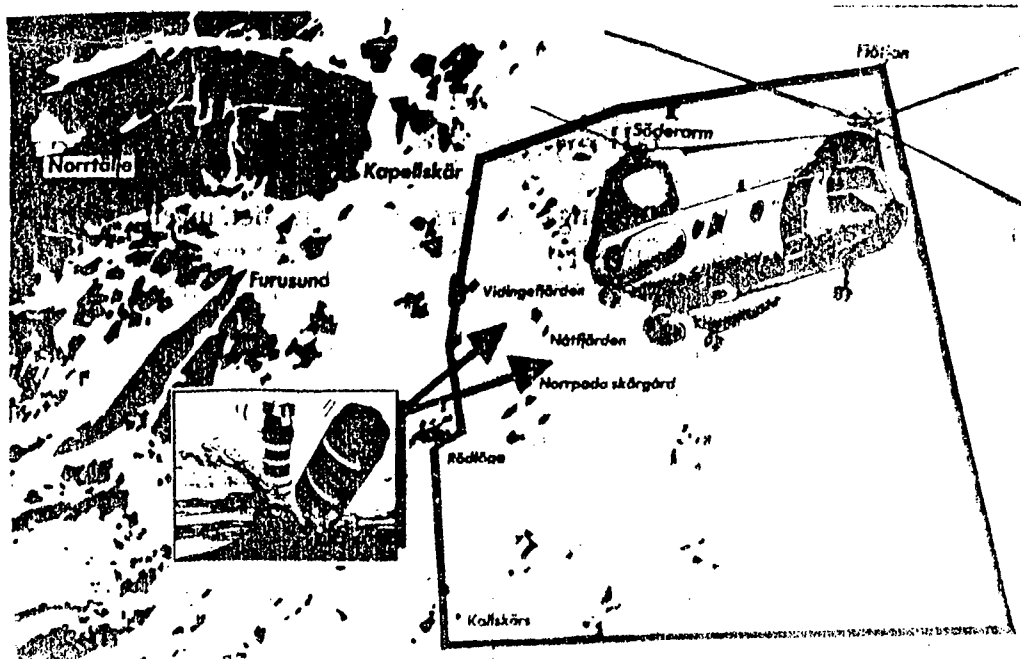
The Navy suspected that the minisub's mother ship was farther out to sea.

"Our most important task was to damage the minisub or force it to the surface and prevent it from meeting with the mother ship," said Hans Tynnerstrom.

#### Large Area

At the same time reports were received of foreign underwater activity in the southern Stockholm archipelago. The pattern was the same as in earlier violations, coordinated operations in one or more areas.

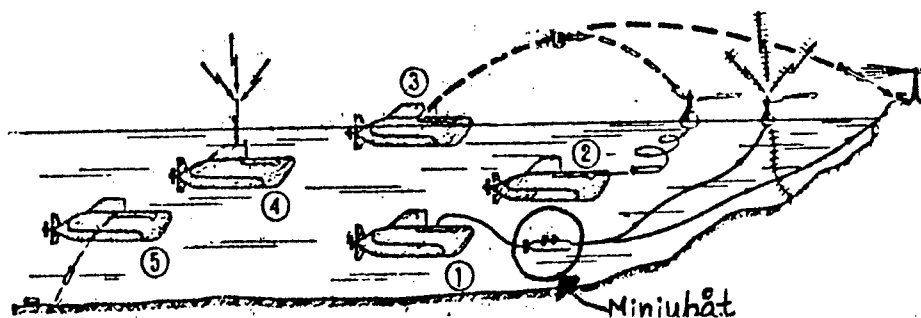
"The violations last summer covered a very large area," Hans Tynnerstrom said. "Over a 14-day period reports poured in from Oregrund to Vastervik."



1. On the night of Saturday, 7 June, the Navy was forced to close off a large area from Sonderarm in the north to Kallskär archipelago in the south.

ПРИМЕРНЫЕ ВАРИАНТЫ ЗАДАЧ, РЕШАЕМЫХ СВЕРХМАЛЫМИ ПОДВОДНЫМИ ЛОДКАМИ.

1 — осуществление подводных диверсий с использованием транспортировщиков;  
2 — применение торпедного оружия по кораблям противника; 3 — стрельба ракетным оружием; 4 — ведение радиотехнической разведки; 5 — постановка минных банок.



2. Minisubs play an important role in the strategy of the Soviet Navy. This is apparent from an article in the Soviet periodical "Technology and Armaments" (No 3, 1983). The sketch shows the landing of a Soviet commando unit on a sabotage mission. The goal is to wipe out an enemy radar facility. The minisubs' mother ship is Number 1 in the picture. Submarine 2 is launching a torpedo at a surface target. Submarine 3 is shooting missiles at a surface target, while submarine 4 is engaged in radio intelligence activities and unit 5 is mining the ocean floor.

The Navy did not succeed in forcing the minisub to the surface. Hans Tynnerstrom explained it in these words:

"If a submarine moves it is possible to detect it with helicopter hydrophones. If it keeps still the bottom must be scanned with high-frequency shipboard hydrophones."

#### Very Close to Capturing Sub

These shifts between different pieces of apparatus require units and resources to change places in the area of operations. That takes time and during such a change a vessel can slip away.

SVENSKA DAGBLADET has talked to several officers who took part in the Vidinge operation. All confirmed that the Navy came extremely close to catching the minisub and forcing it to the surface.

When Supreme Commander [OB] Lennart Ljung reported the summer violations in October 1986 he stated that some 15 violations had occurred. "Judging from the overall analysis, foreign underwater activity has occurred on Swedish territory during the summer and fall. There is no basis for pointing to any particular country," the report states briefly.

The Soviet periodical "Technology and Armaments" (No 3, 1983) tells how a coordinated submarine operation can be carried out (see Figure 2).

The only country that openly admits manufacturing minisubs is Yugoslavia. Yugoslav Defense Minister Branko Mamula wrote the following in the book "Navies at High and Narrow Seas":

"Underwater operations can be expected to become part of future naval wars to an increasing extent. Our country is developing units for underwater actions ranging from very large to very small units, suitable for individuals."

#### Helicopters Boost ASW Capability

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 13 Jan 87 p 8

[Article by Anders Ohman: "Sub-Hunting Capacity Improved on East Coast"]

[Text] Today the Navy is taking a step toward improving its capacity to hunt submarines in southern Swedish waters. At 11 this morning the chief of the Navy, Bengt Schuback, will inaugurate the 13th Helicopter Division at the Kallinge F-17 air base near Karlskrona in Blekinge.

Four heavy Vertol helicopters equipped for hunting submarines will be stationed there along with lighter reconnaissance helicopters. The heavy helicopters come from the Air Force and will be operational in 2 years, in 1989.

The Navy currently has 10 heavy helicopters and when the helicopter division at Kallinge is fully operational there will be 14 sub-hunting helicopters



equipped for reconnaissance tasks with radar and active hydrophones. The helicopters can drop depth charges on foreign submarines.

Up to now the Navy has had only two helicopter divisions, Berga on the east coast and another one on the west coast near Goteborg.

If a submarine incident occurred in southern waters, helicopters have had an effective deployment flight time of 5-6 hours. This has substantially reduced their sub-hunting capability.

#### Better Protection

"We are now taking a step toward better submarine protection in waters where we have proof that foreign submarines have intruded on several occasions," Captain Anders Timdahl of the Navy Staff told DAGENS NYHETER.

The F-17 sub-hunting helicopters will later become part of the submarine defense group that is being reinforced with new coastal corvettes. The heavy helicopters have a capability of being quickly deployed while the slower coastal corvettes--which have more staying power--are rushing to the scene.

The inauguration of the new helicopter unit will be attended by several guests, including Undersecretary Hans Gustafsson, Military Commander Carl-Erik Bjoreman, Rear Admiral Goran Wallen, chief of staff of Milo (South), and Colonel Stefan Furenus, chief of the Coastal Artillery Defense Force.

#### Paper: Entire Population's Concern

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 7 Jan 87 p 2

[Editorial: "Submarine Defense Concerns the People"]

[Text] A few days ago a report in SVENSKA DAGBLADET revealed that the Navy had succeeded in recording engine noises from a foreign minisub in the Stockholm archipelago in early June 1986. The intrusion occurred in connection with coastal fleet exercises and the SVENSKA DAGBLADET article showed that the hunt was considerably more dramatic than the military had previously indicated.

In the Supreme Commander's report on incidents in the second quarter of 1986 the incident was mentioned. The report stated that weapons had been used in the form of depth charges and antisub shells, "but subsequent analysis showed that there is some uncertainty associated with the indications in these cases. It has been definitely established that in one case weapons were used in response to a false echo." Even so the Supreme Commander's summary stated that foreign underwater activity "probably did occur in the vicinity of the Stockholm archipelago in early June."

The routine description by the Supreme Commander is designed to play down what happened. It is symptomatic that Defense Minister Roine Carlsson did not

show much interest in the quarterly report. "The report that has now been released does not call for any special comment on my part," he said.

But according to the chief of Musko Navy Base--who headed the search--there was no doubt that an incursion occurred. Observations along with hydrophone echoes provided tangible indications. The SVENSKA DAGBLADET article referred to several officers who took part in the operation and it is their unanimous opinion that the Navy came close to forcing the intruding minisub to the surface.

The chief of Musko Navy Base also said in relation to mass media reports of the activity which indicated that the sub hunt lasted for just a few days:

"Actually we kept it up for 12 days. One shouldn't dramatize things unnecessarily, but in the Navy we live with a very serious situation that the general public is not aware of."

If the general public is not fully aware of all that is known about submarine incursions and war plans against Sweden, lack of information is the major reason. The present example clearly indicates this. The drama in Vidingefjorden in early June 1986 was toned down considerably in official reports. It was not until long afterward that a newspaper could bring out the reality behind the previously somewhat cryptic reports from the defense leadership.

There are other similar examples. We have long heard, with the repetitiveness of a broken record, that only two violations could be definitely identified as being committed by a specific country--the Gasefjorden incident in 1981 and the Harsfjorden incident in 1982. After a number of commentaries appeared in SVENSKA DAGBLADET, Undersecretary Pierre Schori announced in January 1986: "The Defense Staff feels it has definite proof that the violations were executed by Soviet underwater vessels in at most five instances during the period 1980-82."

At a meeting between the mass media and the military leadership a few months ago, Defense Staff chief Bror Stefenson replied in response to a direct question that on four occasions it has been possible to determine that the intruding submarine came from Warsaw Pact countries. As the Submarine Defense Commission maintained, Warsaw Pact is practically synonymous with the Soviet Union in this context.

The Submarine Defense Commission underscored the importance of providing the general public with as much information as possible: "This involves the need to inform our citizens of conditions that are very important in evaluating Sweden's security policy situation as well as the need to show the rest of the world how seriously Sweden views the prospect of continued submarine violations," the commission stated.

It is apparent that this request has not been fully complied with in terms of practical policy. When two nationally identified violations suddenly turn into four it is easy to suspect that vital information is being withheld.

The submarine violations and the incessant war planning against Sweden are a matter of concern to everyone. In order to be able to evaluate defense and foreign policy correctly it is important that citizens are given the open accounting that was recommended by the Submarine Defense Commission. Without this kind of information, confidence in our efforts will be undermined and in the long run this misguided secretiveness will reduce the chances of defending the peace and freedom of Sweden.

6578

CSO: 3650/52

## NAVAL STAFF OFFICER COMMENTS ON ASW DOCTRINE, TACTICS

Stockholm VART FORSVAR in Swedish No 8, 1986 pp 7-9

[Article by Commander Goran Frisk; first paragraph is VART FORSVAR introduction]

[Text] Commander Goran Frisk currently serves on the Naval Staff. He was formerly captain of a ship in the ASW force.

In issue No 6 of VART FORSVAR, General Nils Skold wrote about his views of Swedish defense. He dealt with both the air threat and the submarine threat to Sweden. He also analyzed the advantages and disadvantages of technical development. Skold feels that technical development and procurement are going too slowly. He also shed light on the great importance of people's defense and on the Swedish profile apparent in it.

It proves very profitable to use Skold's model in building up our defense against foreign submarine operations. In almost every "area of honorable words" used by Skold, there are good examples of how suitable Skold's doctrine is for us. I will try to give examples of this.

The effect of ASW operations can be described most simply as a product of reconnaissance, localization, and armed action. This can be explained more specifically as follows:

1. Reconnaissance must be persistent, and intruding submarines must be unaware of it. It must also lead to positive classification of the discovery. Moreover, reconnaissance must be so precise that the ensuing localization can take place immediately, the reason being that a submarine's great weakness is its inability to get away quickly without making a great deal of noise. It must stay where it is and try to hide in the vicinity: on the bottom or in different water layers.

2. Localization or active reconnaissance must be accurate and must cover three dimensions. This means that the locating units must have complete ability to monitor the sea bottom, the body of water, and the surface. Localization must also occur suddenly and in force. This means that all units must be so well

trained to work together and the search equipment so accurate and all-encompassing that all means of escape for the submarine are cut off.

3. Armed action must occur based on the coordinates supplied by the locating units. It must be so complex that regardless of whether the submarine is lying still on the bottom, floating in the water, or withdrawing at high speed, the weapons will hit it.

If Skold's doctrine is applied in the various areas of ASW operations, we get several interesting results.

#### 1. Reconnaissance

The weakest link in our underwater surveillance is the number of reconnaissance units. The three main systems are:

a) Submarines.

b) Sonobuoy ships.

c) Antisubmarine aircraft.

Only three or four of those units exist within the ASW force. This means that more units must be procured. That is happening at an exceptionally slow pace. Until we can monitor the entire area around Sweden with our own resources, the Swedish people's help will be needed. Swedes are good informants. They describe what they see soberly and calmly, they contact the naval authorities quickly, and they are able to keep their information to themselves.

In several areas, moreover, submarine watch groups have been formed on a completely volunteer basis, with no pay at all. Those groups perform an invaluable service. The Navy is currently attempting to make them a part of the Navy Home Guard. That organization provides training, equipment, and reporting channels.

This means that Skold's argument concerning a people's united hostility shows up to advantage here. There exists within the Swedish national soul an anger which expresses itself in active surveillance efforts. This will yield even more dividends in the future as more and more people join those groups.

All the reconnaissance equipment and methods now being used or developed have a Swedish profile. It is true that several systems were procured abroad, but they have been adapted to our conditions. That adaptation has been carried out by Swedish firms, technicians, and workers in our own organization.

Foreign visitors have observed on more than one occasion that Sweden has tackled the most complicated areas of underwater surveillance with good and promising results. Skold's thesis is therefore a good one in that respect as well. We ourselves are creating a Swedish profile in ASW operations as far as reconnaissance is concerned.

## 2. Localization

Active localization and reconnaissance is another area in which great progress is being made. In this area, efforts are concentrated chiefly on the following:

- a) Coastal corvettes.
- b) Mine countermeasures vessels.
- c) Helicopters.
- d) Patrol boats.

Those units constitute a considerable threat to intruders after being called in by the passive systems.

Thanks to their persistent reconnaissance with good sonar ranges, the coastal corvettes have already begun to drive foreign submarines away from Swedish territorial waters.

Mine countermeasures vessels have a good effect in the archipelagoes. This has forced the intruder to keep moving. A foreign submarine cannot let itself be discovered on the sea bottom by a mine countermeasures vessel. The risk of being sunk or forced to the surface is too great.

The helicopters have experienced a great many troubles with materiel and personnel. The wave of resignations in the Air Force has probably been contagious. When helicopters take part in ASW operations, they do their job well, but unfortunately, the problems have sometimes been too much for the helicopter units. But even in this area, a Swedish solution has been in preparation for the past couple of years. The SAS [Scandinavian Airlines System] is working to modify and recondition the Navy's helicopters. The work is progressing slowly, but it is progressing. So there is a Swedish profile--in this case, in the maintenance system.

The patrol boats have been equipped with variable-depth sonars, some of which have been worn out completely since the 1960's. Here again we have a fine illustration of Skold's thesis concerning a Swedish profile. Those sonars have been put in working order and modified through self-sacrificing effort. They have given the patrol boat a substantially greater role in ASW operations than it had previously. The technicians who made that equipment work really deserve the name of "tough guys."

There are several good illustrations of Skold's theses in the localization systems:

- a) About 50 percent of the personnel manning those systems are conscripts. They are very capable and ambitious. The big disadvantage is that their time at sea is too short under the current training system. This is about to change as a result of VK-83, with the result that seamen will serve aboard

ship for 1 year instead of 9 months. This will improve our ASW capability, since the number of ASW exercises and genuine submarine hunts will increase.

b) Another example of the Swedish profile is seen in the combat information and communications systems on the coastal corvettes, mine countermeasures vessels, helicopters, and patrol boats. Those systems are completely Swedish, and they allow the units to contact each other through data links using display terminals and also through scrambled radio communications. Since any ASW operation requires speed, endurance, mobility, surprise and a mustering of force in time and space, those systems are an absolute necessity. They make reporting quick and reliable. The commander of the ASW force can give orders just as quickly, since the combat situation is constantly presented on a minute-by-minute basis.

c) All the sonars on the coastal corvettes, mine countermeasures vessels, helicopters, and patrol boats are French. The French have taken very great pains to adapt those sonars to Swedish conditions, and the results to date have been very good. This means that even that equipment has a Swedish profile.

3. Armed action involves three different systems:

a) ASW grenades, which are carried on coastal corvettes, patrol boats, and mine countermeasures vessels.

b) Depth charges, which are carried on patrol boats and helicopters.

c) ASW torpedoes, which are carried on the helicopters.

Those systems, working together in various combinations, have put intruding submarines at greater risk. It is probable that the results of our efforts as recorded by the supreme commander in his report for the third quarter are due to the greater chances for successful armed action. All those systems are completely Swedish, and their development is continuing.

But there are exceptions to the determination and will to chase the intruding submarines away. I will mention two examples:

a) There is a campaign of slander against the coastal corvette system which is setting many records in its deceitfulness. The critics are feigning a fawning interest in getting the best units. They therefore feel that the Goteborg class should not be continued, but that further studies and tests should be carried out! Part of the problem is that the four ships in the Goteborg class are to be launched in 1989 and 1990. Things are not made better by the fact that the criticism is coming from people whose knowledge of antisubmarine warfare is nonexistent. This is especially unfortunate in that the coastal corvettes have been successful so far in their ASW function. It must be seen as a rather unique accomplishment to complete the tests less than a year after launching and then engage in live ASW operations. This promises very well for the Goteborg class.

b) Another clear exception to determination occurs in connection with the personnel's working hours during ASW operations. At present, ASW efforts are governed by lack of money. Promising submarine hunts are cut short because no functioning agreement on working hours has been reached. This means that an opponent who has mastered MILARB (Military Agreement on Working Hours) and the SKA (Agreement on Duties) can figure out how to outwait a submarine hunt.

Since endurance is a submarine's best feature, the opponent is going to be successful until we have sense enough to realize that we are at war under the water. That war obeys its own laws, and they are not the same as Sweden's peacetime regulations on working hours. The union bears grave responsibility for the fact that there has been no improvement.

In conclusion, therefore, one can ask oneself the following, based on Skold's theses:

1. Are we Swedes tough enough to win the antisubmarine war?
2. Do we have the technical capability to procure systems that are effective in our surrounding waters?
3. Are the people united in hostility to the intruder?

For my part, I answer yes to all three questions.

Can it be that others have a different opinion?

11798

CSO: 3650/42



## MISSILE 15 ENTERING SERVICE WITH COASTAL DEFENSE, SHIPS

Stockholm MARIN NYTT in Swedish No 6, 1986 p 12

[Text] Our Navy was one of the first in the world to acquire antiship missiles. They were the RB-08's, and they were part of the wartime organization, being used on board the destroyers Halland and Smaland and in heavy coastal defense missile batteries.

Technical progress and developments in our immediate vicinity have made it necessary to replace the RB-08 antiship missiles.

In the Navy, this is being done by rearming with Missile 15.

Replacement of the Coast Artillery's shore-based RB-08's is covered by OB-85 [Supreme Commander's Report for 1985], which is the basis of the 1987 defense decision.

The coastal defense missile system is included in all the options presented by the OB [supreme commander of the Armed Forces]. The number of coastal defense missile batteries is being increased through better financial management. At the economic level being proposed by the OB, there will be six batteries.

The system plan on which the government's decision on expansion is based shows that a coastal defense battery will consist of a battery command platoon, an observation platoon, missile platoons, a guard platoon, and a service platoon.

The missile will be an improved version of the surface-to-surface Missile 15, with attention also being paid to the Air Force's development of Missile 15 for the JAS. Cross-country vehicles will transport and fire the missiles.

Target data for a coastal defense missile battery will be provided from internal and external units, examples being its own reconnaissance radar, radio intelligence units, aircraft radar, and helicopter radar.

As is true for all the coast artillery units, the command system is STRIKA.

But troop trials with missile platoons consisting of fire control vehicles and missile carriers will be conducted as early as the fall of 1988.

11798  
CSO: 3650/42

## DEVELOPMENT WORK ON MISSILE 17 UNDER COMPLETION

Stockholm MARIN NYTT in Swedish No 6, 1986 pp 4-5

[Text] In 1984, after studying various missile systems for our amphibious units, the FMV [Defense Materiel Administration] ordered modifications and some new development in order to produce a new light shore missile based on the U.S. Hellfire missile. Development, which is now complete, was carried out by Rockwell International Corporation's Missile Systems Division (MSD) in the United States and by Bofors Corporation.

## General Information

The missile system has been modified for deployment in suitable archipelago and coastal terrain. It will be possible to use the system as a light coastal battery both in amphibious units and in fixed barrier units.

A unit's missile systems are designed in such a way that they can be carried in one-man packs. But two men are required for the missile.

The system does not require specially designed means of transport. It can be loaded onto and unloaded from existing means of transport. The missile system is designed for easy training, and as is true with other advanced missile systems, no firing of actual missiles is required during training. Adequate practice is possible using simulated firings. But firings for training and inspection purposes will be needed with each class of conscripts.

## Missile Unit

A missile unit may consist of about 12 men with from 8 to 12 missiles, 2 missile launchers, 1 set of test and launch equipment, 2 laser illuminators, and communications equipment.

A missile unit can deploy the launchers with their missiles for locking directly onto the target before launch or for indirect firing. Normally, the unit will deploy for indirect firing with the launchers located away from the shoreline in concealed positions protected by the terrain. In narrow passages offering short ranges, direct firing is an option, in which case the launcher is set up to give the missile homing device a clear view of the target area.

Each missile unit deploys two missile launchers, each with a missile ready to fire. The launchers are hooked up to the test and launch equipment. When the missile is being prepared, test equipment built into the launch equipment automatically tests the equipment's functioning on command.

The main purpose of the laser illuminator is to pick out the target and guide the missile to a hit. The illuminator has high directional accuracy and uses a narrow lobe, making it possible to select the point of aim on the target with a great probability of hitting near that point. The illuminator's laser signal is reflected from the target, and the missile's homing device steers toward the point of reflection. The illuminator is also used for target acquisition and target indication with the same accuracy as that provided by ordinary laser rangefinders. The illuminator can also be used for target indication and target input with other systems. It need not be, and in many cases will not be, deployed together with the missile launchers.

The illuminator will not be chosen until series production begins.

The missile launchers, developed by Bofors, consist of ordinary Hellfire launch rails held by a covered cradle. This is set on a tripod whose easy rotation and adjustable legs mean that the launcher can be quickly set up on uneven ground and properly aligned with the target. The system provides great tactical freedom with regard to placement and choice of target alignment.

Bofors has also developed a new and lighter container for the missile. As is shown in the deployment illustration, the bottom of the container is also used during loading and stripping.

The missiles are U.S. Hellfire antitank missiles whose warheads have been replaced by a newly developed Bofors antiship warhead. The autopilot has been modified to provide a more suitable trajectory when used against ship targets.

#### Communications System

The missile system does not require any special communications equipment. The necessary exchange of information between the units takes place using ordinary means of communication.

It is primarily target plotting information which is transmitted from the illuminator to the missile launchers. Plotting information is needed to make simple calculations of parallax and range, thus ensuring that the missile will be launched at the target on the proper trajectory.

#### Training Materiel

The laser illuminator can be used for practice using simulated targets indoors. Practice against moving targets can be held in the field.

There are practice missiles for everything from simple handling practice during deployment to full-scale operational trials between units (but without using the starting motor or triggering the warhead).

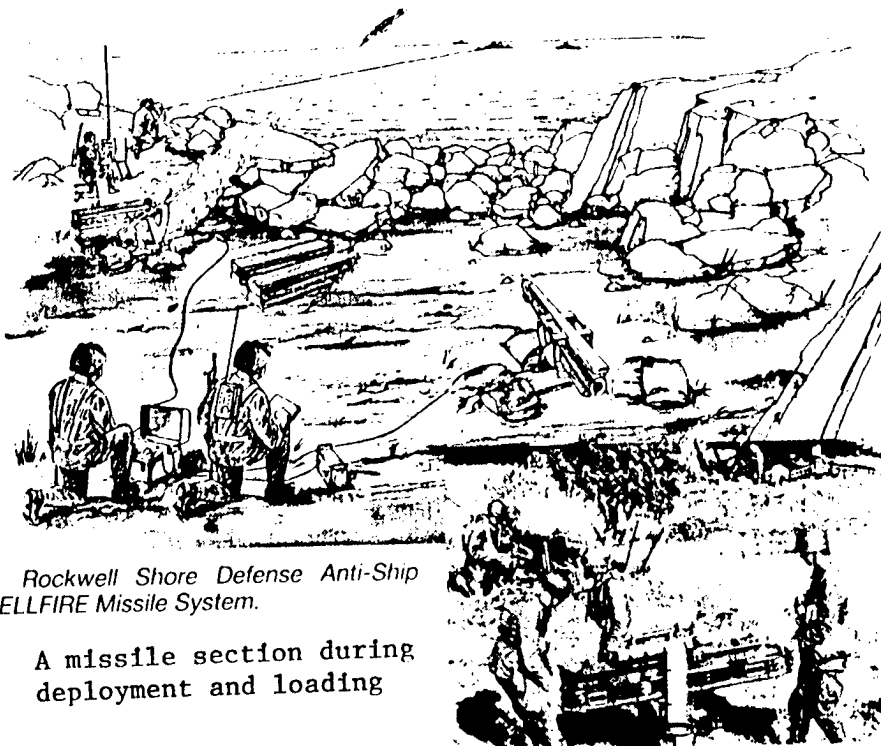
## Testing Complete

Relatively extensive tests with different laser illuminators were conducted during the summer and fall of 1985. The purpose was to collect enough technical and tactical data on which to base the coming choice of an illuminator.

The adaptation program this year included launchings of ballistic, telemetry-equipped, and live missiles.

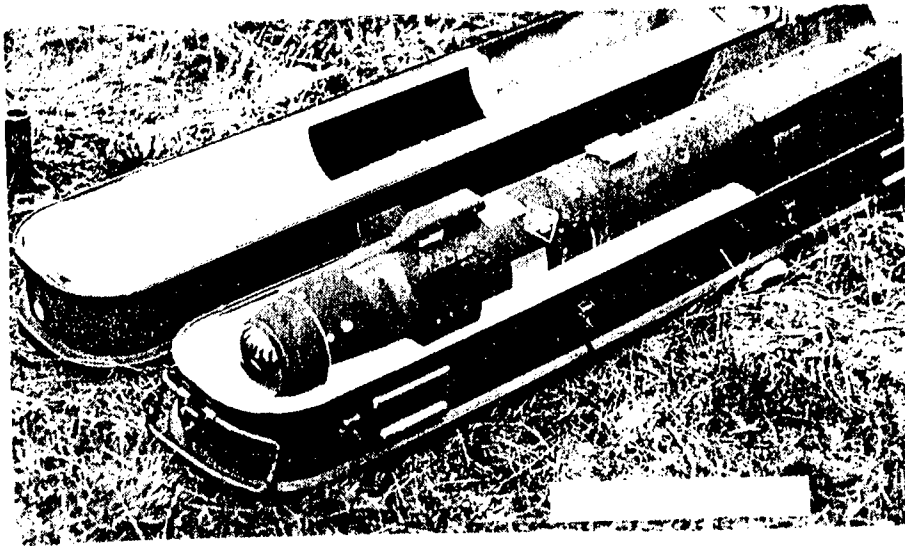
During the tests conducted in Sweden, the FFK (the FMV's proving ground in Karlsborg) was responsible for directing the tests, taking measurements, and evaluating data. There is great value in and a great need for having our own proving grounds where independent testing and verification can be carried out under the FMV's auspices. The knowledge and mastery which project managers gain from these tests are not valuable only for the purposes of the current project. They also provides experience that can be used for guidance in other projects.

Following final evaluation of all the results and tenders, a proposal on series procurement of the system will be submitted to the government in the spring of 1987.



▲ Rockwell Shore Defense Anti-Ship  
HELLFIRE Missile System.

A missile section during  
deployment and loading



RB-17 in its container.

11798  
CSO: 3650/42

## ARMED FORCES TO GET FREQUENCY-HOPPING ERICSSON RADIO

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 19 Dec 86 p II

[Article by Bo Ostlund; original paragraphing not strictly followed]

[Text] The government gave the FMV (Defense Materiel Administration) final approval on Thursday to sign the order with Ericsson--as SVENSKA DAGBLADET reported the other day--for the new Troop Radio 8000 that will be supplied to the Army and Navy. The order, which is worth 850 million kronor, also includes options for further deliveries in the future.

The new and technically very advanced troop radio will be delivered between 1989 and 1993.

The deal also means good export opportunities for Ericsson. Bengt Wikander of Ericsson told SVENSKA DAGBLADET: "This radio is the first successful type to include frequency hopping. It is going into series production, and there is very great interest in it abroad.

"To begin with, we expect an export order from the Finnish Armed Forces, but following secret tests in the United States, which were successful, it is very probable that there may be exports to the United States and Canada as well."

The new radio will be manufactured at Ericsson's plant in Linköping.

The radio is a Swedish product, but the radio unit itself will be manufactured by Marconi in England.

The Troop Radio 8000 project dates from the 1960's, and it solves a technical problem that has occupied radio technicians for decades: how to transmit--and receive--messages that can be neither intercepted nor jammed.

"Our solution is a computer-controlled system with random--and therefore totally unpredictable--changes of frequency. Radio communications will shift frequencies many times per second," says Bengt Wikander.

Production of Troop Radio 8000 will begin immediately.

11798

CSO: 3650/42

## PROCEDURES FOR MOBILIZING CIVILIAN MOTOR TRANSPORT DETAILED

Lausanne REVUE MILITAIRE SWISSE in French Nov 86 pp 524-527

[Article by Maj Gen Denis Borel (Ret): "Outline of 1986 State of Preparations for Motor Vehicle Requisitioning"]

[Text] 1. Introduction

In a war situation it is permissible to proceed to the indispensable requisitioning of the country's civilian resources to meet the needs of civilian and military defense.

We will confine ourselves here to a study of wheeled motor vehicle requisitioning. The Federal Transport Unit Office, which is responsible for this, recently modernized the preparations (very competently done information brochure, simplified instructions) and published some interesting statistics: it prepared in detail the rapid recourse to some 116,000 civilian wheeled vehicles (43,000 for the army, 45,000 for civil defense, and 28,000 for the country's supply).

This is the overall requirement in case of a general mobilization. The Office is also capable of making supplementary requisitions in the course of the national emergency in order to replace vehicles that may have been put out of action.

2. Content of Preparations

The important thing is to take all measures so that, at the proper moment, the 116,000 vehicles mentioned above will very rapidly be made available to designated users in the right place. They must be the proper model, they must be in good condition, and they must be suitable for winter use; their tanks must be full. Their owners must be correctly compensated. In this connection, it is necessary:

to determine the needs of the users in terms of the number and types of vehicles;

to select suitable vehicles from among the country's resources and to reserve them;

to inform the owners of reserved vehicles as to their obligations;

to inform the users of these vehicles as to the receiving and takeover procedure;

to prepare to make up for initial and subsequent losses.

### 3. Determination of Requirements

3.1. General Coordination. It is necessary to moderate the desires of all those who are entitled to requisition in terms of numbers and specific nature of vehicles. If each of them is not persuaded to make concessions, then the requirements would exceed the available resources (especially as regards trucks); we would have restricted the freedom of action of the private enterprises entirely too much and we would make the daily life of private individuals quite precarious. The coordinated determination of the requirements of the "requesters"--which are highly competitive--often calls for arbitration by defense management agencies made up of representatives of the various branches of that defense and acting upon instructions of the Confederation Council.

3.2. The army has its own combat and utility vehicles which one does not find in the country's civilian motor pool. Furthermore, since it must provide training in peacetime and since requisitioning is not possible at that time, it purchased a total of 28,000 wheeled vehicles (motorcycles, passenger cars, light, medium, and heavy trucks, as well as forklifts). These so-called "army" vehicles are "ready" at the schools and with the units on active duty, on a rotation basis. In case of mobilization, they will be sent to previously designated units. To issue all of their regulation equipment to these units in case of war, it would however be necessary to requisition 43,000 civilian vehicles of all kinds.

3.3. For the civil defense organizations of all our communities--which only have a very small number of training vehicles--we must resort to some 45,000 vehicles and light utility units (for the purpose of pulling motor pumps and compressors and for patient transportation, in particular).

3.4. To guarantee the flow of supplies to all of the country's regions and to benefit from remaining possibilities of importing goods, we must have 28,000 heavy trucks with trailers or special trucks (tank trucks, refrigerator trucks, etc.).

### 4. Selection and Reservation of Suitable Vehicles

The choice of suitable vehicles--their reservation--as far as all those entitled to them are concerned is a job for the previously mentioned Federal Transport Unit Office. For this purpose, it has data deriving from data processing for all of the country's vehicles for which the cantons have issued permits.



It reserves the prescribed number of vehicles of each type and does so in an equitable fashion (with respect to the enterprises and to the population segments concerned) and in a judicious manner (regarding the proximity of the delivery place and the assignment of the driver-vehicle team to the same unit, wherever possible, which is true above all of passenger cars).

It takes into account the constant changes involving the vehicles (different parking areas, different owner, practical use, removal from inventory, etc.) and the address of the owners in order to have an up-to-date list of 116,000 reserved vehicles which will really be suitable for field use and whose owners can be easily reached.

## 5. Informing Owners of Reserved Vehicles

5.1. The owners of the 116,000 reserved vehicles have an information brochure printed in the four national languages and a supply order. Each owner will find everything here that he must know about his peacetime obligations, about the circumstances that would trigger a requisition (notices of a certain type or a special order), about the way in which to bring a vehicle in (filling the gas tank at a civilian gas station in exchange for a coupon to be taken from the delivery order, place of destination, return procedure), about the rental compensation schedule as well as the compensation rates for damage to vehicles incurred in the course of active service.

5.2. The owners are also notified that the Confederation Council, in case of tension, is thinking of posting a "holding" order implying a ban on transferring motor vehicles and taking them abroad; this measure is intended to reduce the number of changes at that particular moment.

5.3. Owners of vehicles needed to keep the country's supplies going will receive a reservation order. This order differs from the delivery order in that the reserved vehicle remains with the enterprise that owns it (in other words, it does not have to be turned in) although the enterprise must transport goods as prescribed by the civilian agencies responsible for the country's supply situation.

5.4. The Federal Transport Unit Office has prepared a questionnaire which, when filled out by the owner, enables it to determine whether the latter understood what is expected of him or whether it may possibly be necessary to send an official to him to get him to understand and accept the situation.

## 6. Information for Users of Requisitioned Vehicles

The commanders of all military and civil defense units know how many requisition vehicles (and of what type) are allocated to them in case of war. As for agencies responsible for unit mobilization, respectively, for the establishment of civil defense formations, they are instructed as to the manner in which they are to take charge of the vehicles arriving at a point of first destination known to the owner, to assign them to certain formations, to plan the routes leading to them, and to facilitate the return trip of the civilian owners.

## 7. Consideration of Initial Breakdowns

Requisition has already been implemented successfully according to a procedure close to the present-day procedure; this happened during the general mobilizations of 1939 and 1940 and on the occasion of numerous partial mobilizations ordered until 1945. The system was further improved and simplified since then. There is good reason to have confidence in the Federal Transport Unit Office: its preparations are indepth and rigorous. It would however be wise for that Office to figure on some initial breakdowns; the number of 116,000 vehicles given here thus includes a suitable safety margin. Stocks of new vehicles held by importers could if necessary be used as a reserve. If the requisitioning process should be disturbed or slowed down, it would be necessary first of all to concentrate on the availability of mechanized units which are entirely equipped with army vehicles.

5058

CSO: 3619/25

## ENERGY COOPERATION WITH SOVIET UNION DISCUSSED

Vienna NEUE AZ in German 19 Dec 86 p 22

[Text] Austria is a country whose electrical energy is derived predominantly from water power. Austria's entire exploitable hydroelectric potential is 53,700 GWh annually. About two-thirds of it, 32,200 GWh, has already been tapped. Between 60 and 78 percent of Austria's electrical energy needs are supplied by hydroelectric generating stations, depending on available water supplies. The remainder has to be generated by steam powered generating stations. But since fuels for these thermal generating stations have to be imported for the most part, Austria is heavily dependent on foreign supplies.

To ensure electricity supplies, efforts are turning in the direction of an intensive exchange of electricity with neighboring countries, in addition to the expansion of hydroelectric energy and the construction of hard-coal-fired power stations. A direct link with the high-tension grids of the East bloc was not possible until the opening of what is called the high-tension direct current short link, or HGÜ for short, in 1983. Before this time, the exchange of electricity with our Eastern neighbors was technically poor. Sections of the grid in Czechoslovakia and Hungary were disconnected from the mains supply there (the CEMA grid) and switched to the frequency of the Western grid. Since the HGÜ has been in existence in Dürnrohr, a new phase of cooperation in energy management has begun between the large interconnected European grids and the CEMA grid. The HGÜ allows asynchronous grids to be linked in a process in which precisely defined amounts of energy can be transferred into the 3-phase grids, independently of frequency and voltage. It has created a direct link between the East and the West in the area of electrical energy. It also breathed some life into the electricity exchange agreement between the interlinked company and the Soviet Union, which was signed in August 1982 and took effect at the beginning of 1985.

Because of its central geographical location, Austria occupies an important position within the western European interlinked system. Interlinked operation on an international scale has many advantages:

- mutual exchange of electricity, with an attendant improvement in the national generating structure,
- instant mutual assistance in the event of a malfunction,
- support in situations of energy shortages,

- synchronization of review programs,
- coordination in the long-term planning of power stations and grid expansion.

Because the international integrated grid has so many benefits, attempts were made quite early to bring about cooperation with other countries in this area. Energy was supplied between Austria and Germany for the first time more than 70 years ago. After World War II, with the creation of the interlinked company as a result of the second Nationalization Law, the systematic expansion of Austria's relationships with its neighbors in energy management began. The interlinked company gradually intensified these relationships with Austria's neighbors to the east. In 1980, the first discussions with top representatives of the Soviet Union were held, in which both sides evaluated the problem positively, and it was passed on to a group of experts for further action.

On 1 January 1985, the energy exchange agreement with the Soviet Union went into effect. The agreement calls for the exchange of electrical energy over a period of 20 years. Each year, in the winter months and in April, the Soviet Union will supply 472 GWh of energy, with a power of 300 MW. The return delivery from Austria will take place in the four summer months, in the amount of 590 GWh and with a similar power of 300 MW. Stated simply, the Soviet Union supplies a specified amount of its quota in the first months of the year. Austria supplies its quota in the summer months, and from fall until the beginning of the year, the remaining supply comes from the Soviet Union.

So far, both partners have been scrupulously accurate in fulfilling the agreement. Both Austria and the Soviet Union have exchanged the amounts of energy agreed upon, and, the way things look now, the agreement will be adhered to scrupulously in the future.

#### Not Only Electricity

The establishment of the working group on energy of the Austrian-Soviet Mixed Commission for economic and scientific-technical cooperation expanded this collaboration significantly. Since the first session in February 1982, a number of discussions involving experts have taken place, both in the Soviet Union and in Austria. The main areas of emphasis in this cooperation concern:

- problems in expanding hydroelectric powers stations, dams in the mountains and tunnel building technology,
- steam generating stations, with respect to their electrotechnical equipment and the use of installations for the removal of sulphur from flue gas,
- automated aids in the electricity industry,
- questions of integrated management to conserve primary energy,
- the construction of overhead transmission lines in mountainous conditions,
- future cooperation in the area of the exchange of electricity between the Soviet Union and Austria.

9581

CSO: 3620/111

## PROTECTION COMMISSION NOTES BALTIC EUTROPHICATION, POLLUTION

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 15 Oct 86 p 15

[Article: "Nitrogen and Phosphorus Robbing Baltic of More Oxygen Than Before"]

[Text] Over the past 5 years nutrients, that is, nitrogen and phosphorus compounds, have been constantly increasing in volume in almost the entire Baltic area, they say in the latest Baltic Protection Commission report. Because of the increase in nutrients, oxygen has decreased in the deepest parts of the Baltic and hydrogen sulphide has formed in the deep spots. Investigators are expecting a fresh influx of salt water from the North Sea that would bring oxygen-rich water into the deep spots.

Over a 5 year period DDT, which used to be a cause for concern, has constantly decreased in fish and birds. PCB compounds have also decreased in some parts of the sea.

On Wednesday the Baltic Protection Commission published its new review of the condition of the Baltic during 1980-1985. The previous review was in 1981.

According to research and the results of observation, the Baltic is eutrophying because of the increasing amounts of nitrogen and phosphorus compounds that are getting into the sea. This will require of the Baltic nations additional measures to reduce nutrient discharges, the commission said.

The first secretary of the commission, Estonian Prof Harald Velner, said that the volume of nitrogen entering the Baltic from the land is about 500,000 tons a year and the volume of nitrogen entering it from the air about 400,000 tons a year. Far more phosphorus is getting into the Baltic from the land than from the air since the respective readings are 40,000 and 6,000 tons a year.

This in addition to the fact that the increase in nutrients has reduced the volume of oxygen and formed hydrogen sulphide in the deepest parts of the Baltic, the Kattegat, and that exceptionally extensive florifications of algae have appeared in the Danish straits area. There has been a loss of oxygen in the water near the bottom because of the florifications and bottom-dwelling animals have died in large areas. Fish have also died along the coast.

Similar changes have not been observed in the Gulf of Finland, the Gulf of Bothnia and in the open water areas of the northern and central parts of the Baltic proper. Nutrients have, however, increased in the Gulf of Finland.

#### Salt Water Expected

According to the investigators, a large influx of salt water, which carries oxygen-rich water into the deep spots suffering from a lack of oxygen, is discharged into the Baltic via the Danish straits from the North Sea at 10 to 12-year intervals. Smaller influxes are discharged at intervals of every few years. There has been no new influx over a 5 year period and part of the changes in nutrient volume can be accounted for by this natural periodical action.

According to the investigators, it is at this point impossible to predict in which direction the situation will develop. At any rate, the investigators are at the present time expecting a powerful new influx of salt water since the salt level has been constantly dropping in the Baltic with the rise in nutrient content.

A reliable comparison of metal concentrations with an appraisal made 5 years ago, according to the investigators, appears to be impossible because development of the techniques of analysis in the present decade has produced more uniform and exact data than before.

According to the new data, concentrations of trace metals in the open sea areas of the Baltic are much smaller than was thought to be the case before. Metal concentrations measured in open sea areas are so small that their effect on the quality of the water, according to the investigators, constitutes no cause for concern. The metal concentrations are low in comparison with the corresponding figures for the surface water of the North Atlantic or the surface water of the central area of the North Sea.

Hazardous substances are still being observed in the bottom layers, mostly in the coastal areas because of industrial and residential waste waters.

DDT concentrations in fish and birds have been significantly reduced in 1979 and the 1980's, apparently because of the ban on the use of DDT. PCB concentrations too have generally dropped since the mid-1970's in all areas except the open sea, where the situation remains unchanged. According to the latest data, during the past 2 years concentrations have, however, slightly increased, which may be due to airborne discharges.

#### Radioactivity Has Not Risen

Sea water radioactivity has not significantly risen since the Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident. Residual alluvium radioactivity has, however, increased in Sweden, Denmark and West Germany. On Velner's initiative, samples have been taken more frequently since the accident and the results will be presented at a commission meeting next February.

It is estimated that about 50,000 tons of oil a year gets into the Baltic. Oil spills have noticeable local effects, but much more oil enters the Baltic from the land gradually in low concentrations from cities and oil refineries, for example, than from ships.

#### Damage to the Environment from Leningrad Dam Project

The construction work on the Leningrad dam has had harmful effects on the local environment, the Soviet LITERATURNAYA GAZETA wrote on Wednesday. According to the magazine, experts have warned about damage to the environment, but the warnings have not been taken seriously. LITERATURNAYA GAZETA is of the opinion that the air along the coast has now been shown to be polluted and the time has come to discuss the construction of the dam.

The plan is to protect the city of Leningrad from floods with the completion of the dam. The draining of the Neva delta outside of Leningrad has, however, disturbed the natural flow of water and huge pools of sewage water have been produced in the delta. The accumulation of sewage water is in turn polluting the air of the region.

The Neva delta is losing its value as a recreation area and Leningrad scientists have warned people of an ecological catastrophe.

According to Baltic Commission first secretary Prof Harald Velner, any effects on the environment produced by the work on the dam are local and do not affect the sea more extensively. He also noted that the work on the dam is incomplete and the water exchange system is not yet functioning properly. He believes that in the long run the dam will reduce the amount of nitrogen and phosphorus that gets into the sea.

11,466

CSO: 3617/25

## RADIOACTIVITY OF LAKE PAIJANNE SEDIMENTATION TO BE TESTED

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 7 Nov 86 p 17

[Text] Asikkala (HS)--The effect of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident is being studied in the open water off Asikkala in Lake Paijanne. Paijanne is the untreated water reservoir for the million inhabitants of the capital district.

Through the study they are above all trying to determine how long it will take for the radioactivity to be eliminated from the lake. Paijanne water has been quite safe to drink the whole time despite the nuclear fallout.

"If we at some time have such a big radioactive fallout that the population will be forced to seek refuge from the pollutants, we will, on the basis of the data obtained from this study, be able to specify how long it will take before the lake water can again safely be used for drinking," the head of the research project, PhD Pekka Kansanen, summarized the idea behind the study.

The Capital District Water Company has commissioned the study and it is being implemented by the Paavo Ristola Engineer Office, Inc. in collaboration with the University of Helsinki's Radiochemistry Institute.

#### Concentrations in Paijanne Water Are Low

Shortly after the fallout produced by Chernobyl, samples of water from Paijanne were taken that show that the water contained very few of the most dangerous radioactive nuclides.

Two weeks after the fallout there were 5.6 becquerels of the isotope cesium 137 per liter of water in the surface water and only less than 2 becquerels by the end of August. There may be 1,000 becquerels of cesium per liter of milk before its use is restricted.

According to Kansanen, the study will be completed by next August. He "thanks" the Chernobyl accident for producing a clearcut fallout that gave them the unique opportunity to compare the radioactivity of the water with the instances of fallout we had about 20 years ago due to the nuclear tests conducted in the atmosphere.



"The study will provide us with good experience for the future. We can only hope that we never actually need this knowledge," Kansanen said.

Aside from cesium 137, they will also be taking samples of several other radioactive nuclides from the open water off Asikkala. Cesium is, however, the chief object of study.

Paijanne is within the zone in Finland that received the biggest dose of radiation from Chernobyl. Radioactive substances, however, quickly mingle with a large body of water.

From the standpoint of the study, it is important to obtain information on those mechanisms that regulate the elimination of fallout nuclides from the lake basin.

Samples are being taken from five test points at different depths in the open water off Asikkala. An important object of study is the material that is deposited in a layer on the bottom of the lake. From it they can easily measure how long radioactivity is preserved.

Fallout radionuclides in part sink to the bottom and form a stratum there.

Kansanen was of the opinion that in the future the fallout from Chernobyl will appear layered on the bottom in deep spots as much as many tens of times stronger compared to the readings obtained from the nuclear tests. The radioactive material has not yet completely sunk to the bottom.

"At this point it's hard to go ahead and give exact figures. In any event enough radioactive material for it to be dangerous may fix itself to the bottom of the lake. It doesn't pay to go and scoop up water from the bottom."

As Kansanen sees it, since not even high level radioactivity layered on the bottom will under normal circumstances start to move, it should not give rise to any danger.

"Radionuclides may be stored on the bottom for a long time, plutonium for as much as a thousand years. Cesium has a half life of 30 years."

11,466

CSO: 3617/25

END